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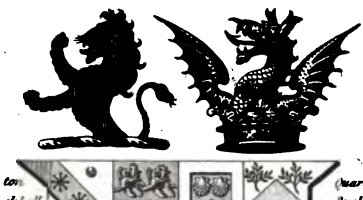

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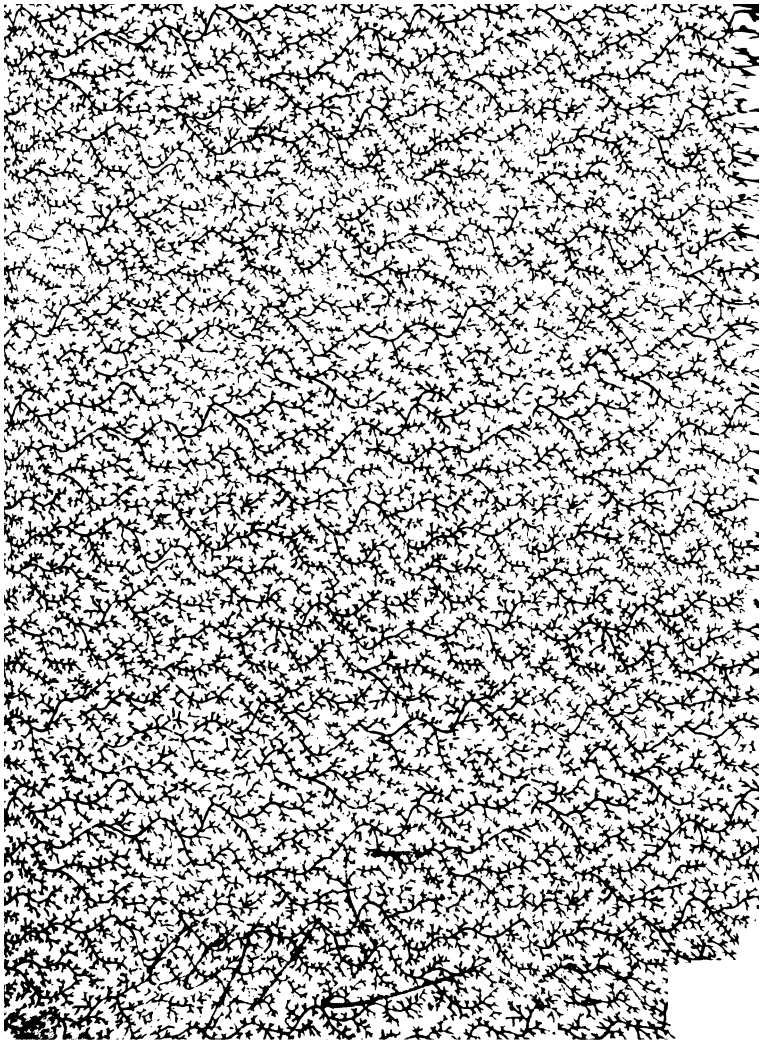

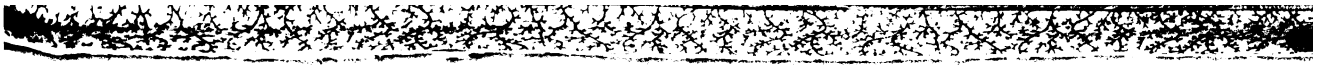

THE TOWN TALK,
THE FISH POOL,
THE PLEBEIAN, THE OLD WHIG,
THE SPINSTER, &c.

BY THE AUTHORS OF THE TATLER, SPECTATOR, AND GUARDIAN.

NOW FIRST COLLECTED;

With NOTES and ILLUSTRATIONS.

LONDON,
Printed by and for JOHN NICHOLS.
M.DCC.LXXXIX.

MD

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CONTENTS.

The TOWN TALK, Nine Numbers, p. 1—141
Lord Chancellor COWPER's Speech, when he paſſed Sentence on the Condemned Lords. 144
Letter to a Member concerning the Condemned Lords. 165
Sir R. STEELE's Speech on the Septennial Bill, April 24, 1716. 182
Character of Sir RICHARD STEELE. 185
An Account of the FISH POOL, by Sir RICHARD STEELE and Mr. GILLMORE 193
The PLEBEIAN and OLD WHIG, complete. 251—380
Letter to the Earl of OXFORD, concerning the Bill of Peerage. 281
The SPINSTER, in Defence of the Callicoe Manufactures. 415
The Female Manufacturers Complaint. 429
Letter to Sir RICHARD STEELE, occaſioned by the SPINSTER. 442
An additional Number of The LOVER. 445

Plate I. of the FISH POOL, to face p. 205
Plate II. p. 225

*** The following extract from a Letter of Sir RICHARD STEELE to his Lady, dated from London, April 10, 1717, abundantly illuſtrates what is ſaid in page 187; and proves that he perfectly underſtood the Proteſtant principle, and that he embraced it, not only to talk about, but to live upon: "You ſay I am reputed a Tory. You know I have always "an unfaſhionable thing, called Conſcience, in all matters of judicature "or juſtice! There happened, a little while ago, a petition to be brought "into the Houſe of Commons from the Roman-catholics, praying relief "as to point of time, and the meaning of certain clauſes which affected "them. When there was a queſtion juſt ready to be put upon this, as "whether it ſhould be rejected or not, I ſtood up and ſaid to this pur-"poſe: 'Mr. Speaker, I cannot but be of opinion, that to put ſeverities "upon men merely on account of Religion is a moſt grievous and un-"warrantable proceeding. But, indeed, the Roman-catholics hold tenets "which are inconſiſtent with the being and ſafety of a Proteſtant "people; for this reaſon we are juſtified in laying upon them the pe-"nalties which the Parliament has from time to time thought fit to in-"flict: but, Sir, let us not purſue Roman-catholics with the ſpirit of "Roman-catholics; but act towards them with the temper of our own "Religion. If we do ſo, we ſhall not expect them to do any thing in "leſs time than is neceſſary to do it, or to conduct themſelves by rules "which they do not underſtand,' &c. When I had adventured to ſay "this, others followed; and there is a bill directed for the relief of the "petitioners. I ſuppoſe this gave an handle to the fame of my being a "Tory; but you may, perhaps, by this time, have heard that I am turned "Preſbyterian; for the ſame day, in a meeting of a hundred parli-"ament men, I laboured as much for the Proteſtant Diſſenters."

TOWN-TALK,

IN

A SERIES OF LETTERS

TO

A LADY IN THE COUNTRY.

*

N° 1. Saturday, December 17, 1715.

MADAM,

IT had need be a pleaſure to obey your commands, when you employ me in a way to which I am without thoſe commands naturally averſe; and I muſt take the liberty to ſay, there is the utmoſt inſolence of power in a fine woman's making a man do what ſhe knows

* The TOWN-TALK was a *Weekly Paper*, printed originally in 4to. and ſold by R. Burleigh in Amen Corner, at the price of Three-pence each Number. It was afterwards ſold by J. Roberts, near the Oxford Arms in Warwick-Lane; J. Graves in St. James's-Street; O. Lloyd near the Temple Church; and A. Dodd, at the Peacock without Temple-Bar; where Advertiſements were taken in.

he of all things diſlikes, meerly becauſe ſhe knows the motive of pleaſing her is the only one in the world could make him undertake it. Sure you have not conſidered enough, that the general order you have given me, to write to you every thing which paſſes in town, will expoſe you to hear many impertinencies, from which the greatneſs of your underſtanding, and perhaps the dignity of your virtue, ought to defend you *. I have indeed this comfort, that neither good ſenſe nor real innocence are eaſily alarmed, but ſit in a ſecurity unknown to pretenders to either of thoſe bleſſings. But to write you conſtantly once a week the news and the occurrences of the preceding ſeven days, is a taſk I muſt be forgiven if I ſhould ſometimes omit. One of your letters ſays, "Write any "thing, and every thing." From this licence

* The TOWN-TALK, was probably a title given to a ſeries of genuine letters written by STEELE to his lady then in the country, and printed upon ſome preſſing exigence. On this ſuppoſition, the *undated* LETTERS to his Lady in STEELE's "Epiſtolary Correſpondence," or ſome of them at leaſt, might have been referred not improperly to this period of time. See *ut ſupra*, vol. I. *paſſim*.

There may be paſſages and whole numbers in the TOWN-TALK to which this ſuppoſition may not be thought applicable; but all ſuch parts of the Paper might be poſterior additions to the original letters, inſerted with various views, or merely to eke out the publication, and adapt the *ſhift* to its end, which was probably to relieve himſelf from the preſſure of ſome claim upon him, incurred by the vanity of his profuſion, the *imprudence of his generoſity*, or the peeviſhneſs and caprice of his wife.

(if

(if I do not wrong myſelf in calling it ſuch, having your authority for it), I ſhall begin my correſpondence with a ſtory that now is all the TALK OF THE TOWN, and of which ſome celebrated Fair-ones are the Heroines. Country-gentlewomen may perhaps think theſe vivacities incredible; for you are not in the ſecret how to manage privacies by being very public in the manner of carrying them on, ſo public as that no one would believe there was any thing that required ſecrecy tranſacted with this kind of conduct. Houſes for amorous entertainment in the moſt frequented buſieſt ſtreets, is the improvement of Gallantry, as it is called, in theſe later days.

I am juſt come home from a viſit, where I heard it related in a circle, by your couſin ARTHUR, who you know, never lets any circumſtance revealed to him ſuffer by his repetition of it. Mrs. SUSANNAH DEMPS—I think her name is SUSANNAH, but it is the ſecond ſiſter I mean, who gave occaſion to the hiſtory—Mrs. SUSANNAH aſked couſin ARTHUR, "how "he went on in his amour, and whether his "cruel Fair began to lend an ear or not?" Upon which, he caſt an obſerving eye upon her ſhape and ſaid, "Pray Madam, who makes your "petticoats? I am ſure," continued he, "you do

" not buy where the lady you aſk about beſpeaks " hers, you are ſo very ſlender!" An anſwer to any enquiry after his miſtreſs, with a queſtion " where do you buy your cloaths?" put us all at a loſs for the coherence. " But what a " ſtaring is here, as if none of you, " ſaid he, " had ever heard the Hiſtory of *The Blind Gal-* " *lant*, which is the preſent entertainment of " the whole Town!"

When we all had confirmed him in a belief that his ſtory would be entirely new, he ſeemed pleaſed with the opportunity of entertaining us agreeably, and ſaid as follows, or to this purpoſe; for I had rather give it you by recollecting as well as I can what he ſaid, than attempt to tell you in words of my own; beſides that I hope ſome parts of the ſtory will be more eaſily pardoned, when I aſſure you that it has been told already in company of which you would not have diſdained to have made one. Suppoſe then he had compoſed himſelf, and recollected his thoughts by looking for an inſtant ſtedfaſtly at the fire, and then broke ſilence as follows.

" I obſerve by your eagerneſs to hear me, that " you think I am going to gratify your ill-na- " ture with ſomething full of ſcandal; and I ſee " you expect to hear abundance of your friends " and acquaintance torn to pieces by what I " have

" have to ſay. But, as I deteſt perſonal reflec-
" tions as much as I do general vices, I ſhall
" not give you the character of any perſon but
" under a feigned name, and even in that do it
" ſo as it may affect the crime, and not the per-
" ſon who is ſo unfortunate as to be guilty of
" it. I will go no nearer as to the place where
" what I am going to ſay was acted, than to
" acknowledge frankly to you that the ſcene is
" in an houſe between *Knightſbridge* and *Stepney*;
" and that if you can take the pains, you will
" find within that ſpace there lives a very good
" body of the age of forty-two or thereabouts,
" who is extremely handy in her buſineſs, and
" is, as ſhe will tell you herſelf, the beſt maker
" of mantoes and petticoats of any of that com-
" modious occupation within the bills of mor-
" tality. She is impertinent and genteel, has
" the true ſtate of affairs in city, town, and
" country; yet does not confine her knowledge
" to general things, but condeſcends to enquire
" into the affairs of every private family, with
" which ſhe is as well acquainted as with her
" own. Silly women of condition look upon
" her as the wonder of the age for her great
" parts; and the witty ones receive her as a more
" agreeable companion to them than any of
" their near relations. But to come to the point:
" It has been obſervable for four or five years

" paſt that the petticoats made by this artificer
" have ſwelled ſoon after they came out of her
" hands, and the proportion between the hoop
" and the waiſt, and from the hoops and the
" circumference of the petticoat on the floor, has
" been remarkably preſerved in her ware above
" what has appeared in the performance of any
" other workwoman. It was at firſt given out
" that her petticoats were quilted with oſtrich-
" feathers, which are known to receive a new
" elaſticity from the warmth of the body, till it
" grew notorious that this was not the reaſon,
" but that the wearers of them were pregnant.
" When that was publicly known, the Natu-
" raliſts were long at a loſs to find cauſe of fer-
" tility in buckram and whalebone only; but
" Time which diſcovers all things, has made it
" appear that ſhe has had aſſiſtances, which ex-
" plain the myſtery. You are to underſtand,
" Mrs. THIMBLE (for that ſhall be her name)
" was bred up in a diſtant part of England, at
" a gentleman's houſe of a great eſtate, to whoſe
" wife THIMBLE was a diſtant relation.

" When the lady we are now ſpeaking of was
" about eleven years of age, her kinſwoman
" brought into the world a blind male-child.
" The infant was remakably beautiful; and as it is
" the wiſe dictate of Nature, that we love thoſe
" children

" children deareſt whom ſhe preſents to our care
" with moſt infirmities, the mother could never
" look at this child without the ſofteſt touches
" of affection, and a partiality as her fond heart
" told her, to that ſweet harmony of features,
" that glowing warmth of complexion in the
" boy's countenance, that was *chequed* and over-
" caſt with blindneſs. It was a common exer-
" ciſe with her, as he grew into years of pratling,
" to ſit whole hours looking at him, to admire
" his perfections, and lament his defect. To
" hear his pretty endeavours at comprehending
" what could come only to him by ſight, and
" ſee him ſmile with ſuch a free countenance,
" till the dimples of joy ſeemed to ſink at his
" eyes, was her daily employment: but ſhe
" found this fond melancholy incapacitated her
" for her houſhold affairs, and from that con-
" ſideration, reſolved to put Mr. CHARLES into
" the hands of BETTY THIMBLE, who had
" orders to lead him, to divert, to inſtruct him,
" and keep him out of the way of hurting him-
" ſelf, or being hurt by other children.

" This familiarity grew up between Mrs.
" THIMBLE and Mr. CHARLES, till ſhe was fit
" to be put abroad to a relation of hers in
" town, for a livelihood; and the poor child's
" unfortunate circumſtances made it neceſſary
" to place him near her; for whom he had now

" taken ſuch a paſſionate affection, that he could
" not live without her. When he grew up to-
" wards years of diſcretion, he uſed to ſay,
' Whatever you mean by light, ſince couſin
' BETTY enjoys it, I don't want it; as I obſerve,
' ſaid he, you are ſilent ſoon after I hear you
' ſay it is dark, and my couſin is of the ſame
' humour, I can only follow her way, and ſleep
' as the reſt of you do.' Mrs. THIMBLE has
" had the care of him from his earlieſt years to
" thoſe of manhood: he is now in the livelieſt
" and moſt ſprightly days of life; and it is well
" known that ſhe viſits her blind man with
" much diligence on occaſions for which dark-
" neſs is choſen, even by thoſe who enjoy their
" ſight. As Mrs. THIMBLE had obſerved du-
" ring her apprenticeſhip under her kinſwoman,
" an experienced dame from whom ſhe learned
" her trade, that greater profits were made by
" the intelligence than labour of a true manto-
" maker, it came into her head one day, and
" ſhe jumped at the conception of it, that ſhe
" might employ Mr. CHARLES for her ſervice to
" as good purpoſe as her miſtreſs had formerly
" engaged others. She laid great ſtreſs in her
" imagination of this particular advantage, that
" favours could not be boaſted, where the perſon
" who beſtowed them was unknown to the re-
" ceiver. Madam THIMBLE has a great deal

" of

" of humour and fancy, is very daring, and can
" from thoſe qualities bring to paſs what to the
" ordinary part of the world would ſeem im-
" practicable. Mr. CHARLES is tall, well-ſhaped,
" and having had his chief education in the
" *chit-chat* of women, who are his friends and
" relations, or were the cuſtomers of Mrs.
" THIMBLE's miſtreſs, or herſelf ever ſince ſhe
" ſet up, his converſation is remarkably agree-
" able. It is notorious that blind people are
" uſually chearful; and he is ſo in a very par-
" ticular manner, from the people with whom
" he has always lived. Add to this, that he
" has a moſt charming voice; and though he
" has never learned to dance, when a minuet is
" played, his natural motion to it, eſpecially
" when led about by Mrs. THIMBLE, is ſurpriz-
" ingly juſt, and gracefully exact: for the ear
" being uninterrupted by the vagaries of the eye,
" he keeps time, to the inexpreſſible ſatisfaction
" of his ſpectators, who are often ſuch without
" his knowing it, as his gipſy has a mind to
" play him off. Such Mr. CHARLES is, and ſuch
" Mrs. THIMBLE. To carry on her deſign
" upon him for the gratification of her beſt and
" favourite cuſtomers, ſhe for ſome time
" feigned to the youth, 'that what had paſſed
" between them began to be obſerved and
" *ſpoke* of, and therefore it was neceſſary they
" ſhould

" ſhould act with more caution. Indeed,
" ſaid ſhe, my dear, Love has made me as in-
" capable of knowing whether I was taken no-
" tice of or no as you are. But hereafter, be-
" cauſe I know ſervants liſten, I beg of you,
" upon no provocation, to ſpeak one word to
" me, except I ſpeak to you firſt.'

" When this ſtep was ſecured, Mrs. THIMBLE
" took frequent occaſion to mention 'poor Mr.
" CHARLES' to a young lady who lived in her
" neighbourhood, and was the ſuperfluous re-
" tinue of an old wealthy man in the character
" of a wife. She one day began to her, 'I never
" think of the gentleman at my houſe, but I
" fancy if he had had eyes to ſee your beauty
" he muſt have fallen in love with you, for there
" is ſomething in the air of his face and the
" make of his features extremely like you.' The
" lady, in ſome confuſion, anſwered gravely,
'Though he is blind, Mrs. THIMBLE, I am
'not.' This gave our dame ſufficient proof
" that what ſhe before ſuſpected was a truth, to
" wit, that the lady was not without ſome good
" liking of Mr. CHARLES. There is a ſkill in
" theſe gipſies of acting according to the incli-
" nation of thoſe whom they deſign to oblige in
" their amours, without the bluntneſs of ſeem-
" ing to underſtand their inclinations. This ad-
" dreſs of gratifying without reducing people

" to

" to the neceſſity of declaring their paſſions, is " what Mrs. THIMBLE poſſeſſes, above all the " ſervants of pleaſure in the town. She from " time to time threw opportunities in the way " of the certain young wife I am ſpeaking of; " and one evening, by way of confidence and " freedom of diſcourſe, confeſſed her own frailty " with Mr. CHARLES, and owned the place they " were then in to be the ſcene of their corre- " ſpondence; but ſpoke it as a matter of mere " diverſion and frolick, that if ſhe ſhould think " fit to play him ſuch a trick, ſhe could at any " time paſs any other woman upon him, ſhe " having already obliged him to the utmoſt " ſilence for her own ſake. After a little diſ- " courſe to this purpoſe, a well-taught girl of " hers called her into another room; ſhe went " out, but immediately returned, leading Mr. " CHARLES to her cuſtomer, who ſuffered more " than I can relate before ſhe had ſatisfied her " amazement and curioſity upon the oddneſs of " this adventure. The huſband concerned in " the hiſtory, after ſome weeks finding his eſtate " likely to be entailed upon the heirs of the " body of his wife lawfully begotten without " much conſulting him in making the con- " veyance, was it ſeems, inconſiderately violent " on the occaſion, and traced the injury to one " whom he could not but acknowledge innocent

" of

" of it; and after mature vexation, is now " ſettled upon the matter, and fearful only that " his deſcendant may betray his ſire by wanting " one of his ſenſes. The good man has the phi- " loſophy to reflect, that ſuch an evil could not " befal a man with ſo much cauſe of conſolation " elſewhere. If he is injured, it is an injury " that has not the diſgrace of mens obſervation " on it; nay, not ſo much as of him who is the " author of it. Mrs. THIMBLE is too covetous, " as well as too vain, to impart this ſecret to one " perſon only; and Mr. CHARLES is become " a bye-word in a ſiſterhood who know each " other to be entertained by him. You ſhall " hear one of them talk of *pitying the poor* " *blind of all the poor in the world:* you ſhall " hear another of them ſay, *the blind are the* " *greateſt object of charity* *. I will not name " names;

* The Author himſelf makes an apology in his ſecond number for the narration given here, in a manner it ſeems that *gave very great offence.* It may ſtill be cenſured and cenſurable; but in mitigation of whatever cenſure it may deſerve, fairneſs requires an obſervation here; that it probably dropt haſtily in the gaiety of his heart and inwardneſs of conjugal confidence, from the pen of a fond huſband writing to a young, gay, and beautiful wife, who had been for ſome time abſent from him. It does not follow from this that STEELE was not reprehenſible for communicating to the public a narrative of this nature with a degree of freedom hardly pardonable in relating it to the wife of his boſom. Pope had a happy ſagacity in the diſcrimination of characters, knew him well, and was niggardly enough in his compliments excepting to himſelf; yet he bore STEELE this honourable teſtimony recorded by Mr. Ruffhead,

" *He*

" names; but I know Mr. CHARLES has robbed " me of my miſtreſs, nor do I pretend to rival."

Here Mr. ARTHUR ſaw a little ſeverity ariſe in the ladies looks; but keeping up his confidence, he ſaid " he knew he told them only what they " had all heard before;" and calling Mr. CHARLES the happieſt deluded man in the world, went out of the room without hearing our reflections on his narrative.

Madam, I could not have given you this ſtory, but that it is abſolutely neceſſary, as being an incident that lets you into the Preſent State of LOVE; and it being the neweſt adventure in the Town, as well as likely to produce more than is yet come to light, it was neceſſary to let you into the whole affair. But I will leave CHARLES in the Burning Zone, to give a farther account of what you recommended to me, which was, to ſee Plays, and give you my ſentiments of thoſe entertainments, and the taſte of the company *.

It

" *He had a real love of virtue.*" Thoſe who are beſt acquainted with STEELE's writings, will be moſt readily diſpoſed to ſubſcribe heartily to POPE's opinion. With an uncommon ſhare of vivacity, and a pleaſurable diſpoſition, STEELE appears to have kept on the beſt principles, a ſtrict guard on the wantonneſs of his imagination. Of the many and various productions of his pen that are now known, it is but bare juſtice to ſay in general, that they are manly, chaſte, and meritorious, manifeſtly deſigned, and admirably calculated to inſpire and ſupport wiſdom and goodneſs, and the love of them.

* This paſſage ſeems to countenance the ſuppoſition ſuggeſted in the *Note* to p. 2. Such a *recommendation* as is here mentioned can hardly be ſuppoſed to have come from any Lady but his own; and from her it might come

It is certain the Fair Sex lead the faſhion; and I cannot give you a more lively image that the generality of thoſe who live at their eaſe are either employed very frivolouſly, or as the ſharers in Mr. CHARLES are, than this, that the Tragedy of "Venice Preſerved" was very thin of Ladies, and the audience diſcovered ſo poor a taſte, that the moſt applauded paſſage in the whole play was BELVIDERA's deſcription of the raviſher old RENAULT. The diſtreſs of a couple undone by a generous paſſion, the miſery of a whole nation ſhortly coming to paſs, and a woman of honour involved in the ruin, though deſigning to ſerve her father and her country, had no manner of effect; but they all underſtood what it was to find a beautiful woman alone at midnight far from help, and the like. But they tell us we are to have a mighty amendment in theatrical entertainments, for there is forſooth a patent * that enables the undertaker at the houſe of *Drury-Lane* to chaſtiſe the vices of the ſtage, and promote the intereſts of virtue and innocence. This, they tell you, will be immediately ſet on foot; and they have indeed gone ſo far *into* it, as to have reſolved to end the

come very properly, dictated either by parſimony or kindneſs, as thinking the Playhouſe where her huſband was free and welcome, preferable to the Tavern, then too much frequented, where faſhion and conviviality too often tempted him to ſquander his money, and injure his health.

* See it at large in N° VI.

playing

playing before the commencement of the enſuing feſtival with a Play, if not promoting Virtue, yet written in analogy to the principles of it, nay of Religion. The entertainment I mean is "HAMLET," in which there are innumerable incidents which ſtrongly ſtrike the mind of the ſpectator, with meſſages of horror, revenge upon unjuſt actions undertaken from ambition, with many other laudable circumſtances, on which I have heard you make much better obſervations than I can ſuggeſt, unleſs I were to remind you of what you yourſelf ſaid of OPHELIA's melancholy at the introduction of the Grave-digger, the converſation of the ſcholars with the prince, the duel, the explanation between the ſon and mother, and ſo of the whole work.

I went, as you bid me, to ſee the Priſoners from Preſton * on Friday laſt; but you could not have put me upon a more ungrateful taſk; to ſee a number of deluded zealots ſacrificed to the pride and ambition of thoſe who will venture

* Theſe, to the number of 200, were brought to town Dec. 9, 1715, under a ſtrong guard, with ſwords drawn, and bayonets at the end of their muſkets. Among them were the Lords Derwentwater and Widdrington, both Catholics; General Foreſter, with his attendant Chaplain, and a Catholic Prieſt; the Scotch Lords Nitheſdale, Carnworth, Kenmuir; Brigadier Mackintoſh, &c. After being led in proceſſion through the principal ſtreets; thoſe of ſuperior quality were lodged in the Tower; about 50 were conducted to Newgate; 80 to the Fleet; and 50 to the Marſhalſea.

nothing

nothing but their intereſt in another world for any cauſe or party, was matter of ſorrow and pity to me; though at the ſame time I could not but rejoice in ſeeing the open enemies of my country diſarmed and at mercy. There was a young lad there with a rope round his ſhoulders, who it ſeems has ſhewed an uncommon courage and magnanity. If he can be begged at Tyburn, he will be as great a public favourite as maſter CHARLES is a private one.

I muſt beg your excuſe for anſwering how it comes to paſs that the moſt popular cauſe, and a prince at the head of it with the moſt humane qualities that ever bleſſed a throne, ſhould not be more popular, and the principles and perſons of men who have ſo many years meditated the general ruin not yet the ſcorn and abomination of mankind. I will not anſwer ſuch queſtions, but confine myſelf to the rehearſal of TOWN-TALK, and have to do with the ſcience of Politicks no otherwiſe than as it is ſuch *.

But when I tell you I will give you only the TALK OF THE TOWN, it is neceſſary that I explain what I underſtand you expect by that deſcription of the ſort of intelligence you would have. It is ordinary to ſay the *City*, *Town*, and *Country*; this takes in the reſidence of all the

* The meaning is, that he would not write of any thing of a *political* nature, unleſs it became *Town-Talk*.

in-

inhabitants of this great and virtuous iſland: but the word TOWN implies the beſt people in the whole, where-ever they are pleaſed or are diſpoſed or are able to live. THE TOWN is the upper part of the world, or rather the faſhionable people, thoſe who are diſtinguiſhed from the reſt by ſome eminence. Theſe compoſe what we call THE TOWN; and the intelligent very well know, that many have got eſtates both in London and Weſtminſter, and died in theſe cities, that could never get into TOWN. As the *Exchange* is the heart of LONDON; the *great Hall*, and all under the contiguous roofs, the heart of WESTMINSTER; ſo is *Covent-Garden* the heart of THE TOWN. What happens to be in diſcourſe or agitation among the pleaſurable and reaſonable people is what ſhall make up THE TOWN-TALK.

The Idle and the Lazy are equally out of TOWN, if nothing ariſes from their ſloth or employment worth preferring them to the notice of the elegant. It is in this ſpirit, that when the ſtreets and houſes are full, it is often very juſtly ſaid "there is nobody in TOWN." And when the men of buſineſs are at a loſs, it is dictated by us who are in Town what they ſhould do, and we ſay, "THE TOWN *will have* it" ſo and ſo. It is to be noted, that every one would be in TOWN if they could, but ſomething or

other happens unfortunately, that thouſands die by the way. I ſhall give you an exact account from time to time who are in Town, who are travelling to it, and who are out of the road, and drive from it in proportion to the ſpeed they make towards it. I am, Madam,

Your moſt obedient,
and moſt humble ſervant.

N° II. Friday, December 23. 1715.

MADAM,

THE epiſtle, which I ſent you laſt week, had a narration in it which has given very great offence *; but I had no apprehenſions that it would diſturb you; for though the facts which compoſe the ſtory are highly licentious, I am confident it was told in a manner which could not excite to the vice it deſcribed, but expreſſed what happened, by drawing the imagination to another object, the very inſtant wherein the moſt blameable tranſaction was intimated. There was a drift in beginning in this manner our correſpondence; for as it is the wiſe proviſion of our law-givers to take care that every member ſhould

* See the note in p. 12, & ſeqq.

write the whole ſuperſcription of the letters which they frank, I could not get any to do me that favour, without naming your name; for which, and many other reaſons, I print what I ſend you, to raiſe a fund for poſtage, as well as that I would have the opinion of the Town upon what I write to her whom I prefer to all the reſt of my readers. Had there been nothing of *amorous intrigue* in the ſtory, it had lain like the tranſlation of an Italian Opera, ſtripped of the muſick, which makes the nonſenſe paſs off. There is an eſtabliſhed ſtate of Innocence and Virtue, which is of too healthy a complexion to receive hurt or contagion from the obſervation of vices and infirmities, in which other people rejoice. To ſuch an one as your Ladyſhip, the intrigues of vicious lovers may be related with the ſame ſafety, as gambols, dances and geſticulations in a drunken Dutch picture, may be ſeen by a ſober and intelligent man. He has a pleaſure in calm and indolent reflections above all that can be taſted in frolick and jollity: and part of this ſatisfaction ariſes from the inward ſenſe of a tranquillity unknown to thoſe who are in the madneſs of laughter.

I went the other day to viſit the lady you commanded me, and found her up and dreſſed at twelve a clock in the morning. She gave me a

cup of tea, and began, and naming you, ſaid, "ſhe was ſure the paper of TOWN-TALK was "written for your Ladyſhip's ſervice, and by me." I was going to ſay ſomething in evaſion of that queſtion, when ſhe ſaid, "Well, Sir, I deſire "you would give my humble ſervice, and tell "her, if ſhe were now in TOWN, ſhe would be "the moſt particular odd creature in the world. "Her way was always to be ſome way or other "employed; ſhe uſed to be at her needle, hear-"ing another read, or elſe in her cloſet, half "the morning, reading alone. But pray tell "her from me, that ſhe would have the fate "that I have, who was a woman of the ſame "kind of breeding, to be thought old-faſhioned, "particular, and pretending. Women now-a-"days do only grow tall, and then get a toler-"able air in their perſon, and they are ac-"compliſhed ladies. All the reſt is ſupplied "by living in little groupes and parties, and "putting every thing out of countenance which "they don't like, or running it down in the "circle wherein they themſelves were. This is "a ſhort way to ſupply thoſe defects which are "not to be got over without thought and ap-"plication.

"The perſons of all thoſe not in the favour "of one of theſe gangs, are conſidered from "head to foot; and then it is ſo hideous, that "ſuch

" ſuch a one ſhould pretend to have any thing " that became her. Being out of their favour " is being guilty of all evil, and being in it " furniſhes the favourite with all that is good. " This, Madam, is the inſolence of faſhion and " wealth, which keeps the meaneſt people above " contempt, gives them the aſſurance to throw " all diſtinctions into that one circumſtance, " with this addition, which is very particular, " that that ſhall not be a ſecurity to thoſe whom " they of the gang do not like, though it is all " they have themſelves to ſupport them in the " pretenſion of approving or diſliking any one " elſe.

" When people go beyond the rules of de- " cency and reaſon, they give no bounds to " their inſolence and affectation. Fine ladies " ſhall pretend to make it a faſhion to act and " talk fillily. If there be any thing peculiar in " the tone of a voice, the nod of the head, or " the geſture of the body, that they think gives " a pretty and odd diſtinction to themſelves, you " ſhall have one of them ſpeak in that affected " manner a thing premeditately ſilly, and the " reſt ſhall admire it, ' That is ſo natural, That " is like her!' *Naiveté* is a great word with " them on that occaſion, and I have very often " heard it, as a term of praiſe, ſaid, ' That was

" ſo fooliſh!' It would be endleſs to recount " to you the many inſtances of this kind, which " every body that keeps *good* company muſt " have obſerved, and they cannot have eſcaped " your notice."

We were here interrupted by a ſervant's entering the room, and uſhering in your couſin ARTHUR.

My friend received him, by reaſſuming the diſcourſe, and telling him, " that ſhe was now " entertaining me with ſome particular ſenti- " ments of her own, concerning the fine women " of this age."

He would not give her time to proceed, but, what is ſeldom pleaſing to her, took the words out of her mouth; and taking his ſeat, " Madam," ſaid he, " I never could yet underſtand what " they meant by *a fine lady*. The ordinary " idea, that ſtrikes the imagination in the men- " tion of her, is a female, ſomewhat below the " ſize of a man, who is not reckoned tall. It is " an harmony of ſuppoſed limbs, hid from us " by ſoft attire, of well-choſen colours. It has " a countenance made up of agreeable features " and a fair complection." The lady interrupted him with, " O fie, Mr. ARTHUR!" and a modeſty as if he was deſcribing her. He took the hint with quickneſs enough; and ſaid,

" Madam,

" Madam, it is certainly ſo, that your fine lady " has nothing of you, whom I really think one, " in the general acceptation of the word, but " your perſon. The *fine lady* is as little under- " ſtood as the *fine gentleman*. We do not think " of the obedient daughter, the agreeable wife, " the chaſte matron, the deſerving ſiſter, or a " creature with any one attribute, but what are " inherent in her very make, and as inſeparable " from her as life and motion. She may be, for " aught we obſerve of a fine lady, a ter- " magant, and an impertinent, vain, ſilly, and " malicious, without the leaſt decay of features " or charms; and when we deſcribe her to " our own minds as ſuch a mere mechaniſm, " why ſhould ſhe diſcompoſe her pretty Being " with ſearching after accompliſhments, which " are ſeparate from the reaſons of our liking? " You, Madam, whom I have known ſo ob- " liging a ſiſter to your brothers, ſo uſeful and " helpful a daughter to your mother, ſo orna- " mental and honourable a wife to your huſband, " cannot ſuffer the leaſt decay in your perſon or " your countenance, till I know you are weary " of the exerciſe of thoſe qualities in any of " theſe relations."

" Sir," ſaid ſhe with an air of much frank- neſs, " I take very kindly what you ſay, becauſe

" I cannot but be conſcious of having carefully " endeavoured to diſcharge thoſe duties for " which you have commended me; though at " the ſame time I muſt confeſs to you that the " homage, which I thought you were ſo courtly " as to pay my perſon in the deſcription of a " fine woman, gratified my humour much more " than theſe reaſonable praiſes. When I own " this, you muſt acknowledge alſo on your ſide, " that it is becauſe you value us moſt for what " is leaſt praiſe-worthy, that we ſtudy to excel " in things leaſt valuable in themſelves. Would " you have us, whoſe buſineſs is to win you, " preſent to your view what yourſelves moſt " neglect? If you eſteem only trifles, they ceaſe " to be ſuch to us, whoſe fate depends upon " your eſteem."

" You are always," replied Mr. ARTHUR, " very reaſonable in your reflections; but you " may talk on this ſubject with ſafety; one who " excels every way, need not be much con- " cerned what quality or endowment has the " faſhion of the age or time on its ſide. But " the beſt vehicle for conveying right ſentiments " into the people, is certainly the Theatre; and " I have been credibly informed that the " ſharers in that of DRURY-LANE had formed a " deſign of reforming the preſent taſte of it, by " giving due encouragement to men of abilities,

" as

" as well by a careful performance of what they
" ſhould act, as a juſt recompence for the pur-
" chaſe of their works, to engage them ſteadily
" and heartily in their intereſts. But a new
" houſe, finely gilded, having been opened
" againſt them laſt winter, they were forced to
" ſuſpend their improvement, to conſult their
" ſafety, which was in very great danger, by the
" loſs of many of their actors, who knew, if
" they were not excellent, they were neceſſary.
" I am very glad to hear they are provided with
" others to ſupply ſuch parts, and have leiſure
" enough to proſecute the reformers laudable
" undertaking. The favour of ſome eminent
" perſons, who will ſhortly appear the profeſſed
" patrons of this deſign, may poſſibly be ſuffi-
" cient to oppoſe the torrent of ignorance and
" prejudice, which muſt attend an innova-
" tion of that kind upon an audience, who
" are ſo utterly lawleſs and unreſtrained as not
" to be checked even by reſpect to each other.
" It is to me a cauſe both of indignation and
" laughter, to ſee the wit of the Britiſh Theatre
" protected by a grenadier at each entrance of
" the ſtage; but difficulty in the proſpect muſt
" not deter well-meaning endeavours from mak-
" ing the attempt. If they ſucceed in it, they
" ought to be regarded as patriots in the learned
" world, who are to paſs through a great deal

" of

" of outrage from the lewd and impertinent,
" the proud and ignorant, for attempting to
" diſturb their enjoyment of ill-nature and
" ill-manners, and bring them under the yoke
" of civility. I have often ſaid, it would
" mightily conduce to the reformation of
" the Stage, that the Author of a Play ſhould
" be concealed till the fate of it was over; or,
" indeed, till he had reſolved to write no longer
" for the ſtage. It is incredible what prejudices
" and animoſities ariſe againſt any man who
" even in this way, which one would think very
" much abſtracted from the intereſts of thoſe
" who do not themſelves write, endeavours to
" excell and recommend himſelf to mankind.
" I happened, at the requeſt of ſome ladies who
" beſpoke it, to be at the revival of 'The Lady's
" laſt Stake, or the Wife's Reſentment *;' the
" paſſages which I liked moſt in it, having for-
" merly read the play, I obſerved were omitted
" in the action; upon enquiry, it did not a little
" divert me to find that they were left out for
" fear of offending two parties, which make a
" great part of the audience in the ſtruggle of
" two houſes; to wit, the Whores and the Game-
" ſters. SIR FRIENDLY MORAL, in the fifth
" act, where the dialogue turns upon the choice
" of company, expreſſes himſelf in this ſaucy

* A Comedy, by C. Cibber.

" manner

" manner againſt the ſaid two powerful parties.
" 'It is in my opinion as diſhoneſt in a man of
" quality, to converſe with a well-bred rogue,
" as it were unſafe for a woman of reputation
" to make a companion of an agreeable ſtrum-
" pet. People's taſte and principles are very
" juſtly meaſured by their choice of acquain-
" tance. Beſides, a man of honour owes the
" diſcountenance of a villain, as a debt to his
" own dignity. How poor a ſpirit muſt it ſhew
" in our people of fortune, to let fellows who
" deſerve hanging every other day of their
" lives, die at laſt of ſitting up in the beſt
" company!' There is no doubt but both of
" theſe parties take themſelves to be injured,
" when put upon the level with Players, and
" would have reſented to have One for their
" Monitor. For this reaſon honeſt CIBBER fear-
" ing himſelf not to be of quality to be wiſe,
" ſtruck this piece of morality out of his play.
" The unexpected reconciliation of the maimed
" pair was received with an honeſt and good-
" natured emotion of heart. There is another
" uncommon diſtreſs in it, which deeply en-
" gaged the audience in the cataſtrophe without
" the help of ſword, dagger, tyranny, or poiſon.
" You have there a woman of quality and un-
" blemiſhed fame, made up for a few moments
" the greateſt object of compaſſion, by unwarily
" purſuing

" purſuing a diverſion in itſelf indifferent; her " danger is no leſs than that of the loſs of her " honour, of herſelf; and ſhe is relieved by " an artful turn in the Play, and cured of the " folly that led her into it. You know, Madam, " I who am a profeſſed admirer of SHAKESPEAR " and of his plays, think OTHELLO the neareſt " a perfect piece; when I ſay a *perfect* piece, I " ſpeak alittle in the ſtyle of a Critic, and have " ſome dramatic rules at heart more than itis for " the intereſt of SHAKESPEAR his readers ſhould " regard. I have engaged ſeveral ladies of my " acquaintance to beſpeak this Play; upon which " occaſion we ſent for Mr CIBBER, to know " whether we could have it acted. It was a " lady, who has very deſervedly much power in " town, aſked for this Tragedy; but we were " mightily ſurprized to obſerve the coldneſs " with which he received her commands. He " eaſily took notice of a reſentment in her upon " it, and excuſed himſelf by ſaying, 'There was " nobody but *him* to act IAGO.' She anſwered, " 'Why, Mr. CIBBER, I liked you mightily in " it.' 'So great an honour as this,' he replied, " 'makes ſome recompence for the ill-will I " have gained among our common audience for " the many ill actions I have done under cha- " racters of that ſort.' We laughed at his diſ- " treſs; but he inſiſted upon it, that it had a

" very

" very important ill effect upon his own little
" affairs and converſation in the world. He ac-
" knowledged, it proceeded from a good cauſe
" in the audience, their deteſtation of the falſe-
" hood he was guilty of in thoſe characters,
" without conſidering, that if he himſelf had
" not the ſame deteſtation, he could never per-
" form them. The horror of the vice is what
" capacitates a man to ſearch into it, and expoſe
" it in its due deformity. Were this vice a
" man's own, he could not for his ſoul give it
" out in odious and ſuitable geſtures; but the
" common people, who are hurried by ſenſible
" objects without reflection, catch at the actor
" for the murtherer and the villain. They do
" not conſider, a man perſonates, and revenge
" themſelves in the imagination upon the imme-
" diate offender; they carry this diſtaſte to an
" averſion for a man's perſon, in all the indif-
" ferent circumſtances of life."

This was the main of the CHIT-CHAT I met with where you commanded me to viſit; and I could not but reflect with ſome gravity upon the ill conſequence of doing unacceptable things, however laudable it may be in him who undertakes them; and I hope, Madam, I ſhall have your good will in proportion to the diſlike I am ſure to meet with for the juſt repreſentations I make

make to you, of perſons whom any of my readers may believe they reſemble.

Mrs. THIMBLE has been at my lodgings this morning, and threatens me with nothing leſs than ſword and piſtol, from ſome Bravoes in her intereſt, for diſcovering her charitable ſharing her friend Mr. CHARLES. The whole Siſterhood are alarmed at it; but as it has not abated, but rather increaſed the number of Mrs. THIMBLE's cuſtomers, if ſhe takes the law of me, ſhe will be at a loſs to prove damages. I could not have got her out of my lodgings this morning, but that ſhe is in conſtant fear ſome of her maids ſhould attend when Mr. CHARLES calls.

I cannot at preſent furniſh out ſuch a quantity of TITTLE-TATTLE as you expect from me, without falling upon the common topick of thoſe that want diſcourſe, talking of the weather; but it ſupplied me with an accident to-day, which I was wiſhing I could repreſent to you. You know Mr. DOUGHTY, who is the moſt ſupercilious, haughty, diſdainful, and bloated proud rogue in the univerſe. Our familiar friend, JACK HANDCUFF, is his mortal averſion. I ſaw them meet to-day in the Piazza of Covent-Garden; it gave me an idea I had never before had, that a proud fellow ſuffers more than all the reſt of the ſpecies in cold weather. DOUGHTY looked

looked directly forward, and ſtrove to overlook him; but that was impoſſible, for JACK ſeized him, and expreſſes a thouſand familiar ſatiſfactions in meeting him. Upon the ſurly dumbneſs and ſtrange look of DOUGHTY full upon him, JACK begins to enquire with much ſolicitation about his health; "for," ſaid he, "methinks "you look thinner than you had uſed to do."

DOUGHTY, ſhrinking with cold, and fretting with pride, diſabled his features from expreſſing their uſual haughtineſs, ſo that he became the pity of him that was his ſcorn.

I paſſed by them in this aſpect, wondering with myſelf, that all common ſufferings, even that of the ſeaſon and weather, does not raiſe in men common benevolence. At this time of the year, were I to acquaint you with the miſerable objects I paſs by, ready to die away in the midſt of health for meer cold and hunger, it would too nearly touch your generous and affectionate temper, which I know has moved you at the approaching feſtival to make proviſion for the diſtreſſes of your indigent neighbours. But I grow grave, and forget that doing you juſtice on this head would be a ſatire upon the generality of thoſe in your condition. Every body is preparing to repeat with freſh vigour in the new year the follies and vanities which make up the account

of

of the old one. MARCIA has theſe thirty years appeared in the ſame colours for which ſhe was ſo much commended at five and twenty. We every year alter; but none but ſuch as you, who have a pleaſure in expecting to change life itſelf for a better, can, maugre all the mortifications that every body meets with, believe they abate in their appearance from what they were under thirty.

Your Couſin ANDREW carried the letter of recommendation to him who is ſo able at this time to ſerve him, but has waited to no purpoſe, after many ambiguous and general proteſtations and promiſes of kindneſs. He is in a very ſullen way, and was murmuring among a ſet of his friends, the other night, at a man who was ſo much obliged, and had it ſo much in his power to ſerve him. Your uncle, who deals mightily in Proverbs and Stories, told him, "He "muſt not be angry at the Gentleman, for it was "the mill that did it." We wanted his meaning, and he told us the following ſtory. "A country "fellow carrying a ſack of wheat to the mill, met "the miller going out upon ſome extraordinary "occaſion; but the peaſant, being his friend, "he gave him the key of the mill, and deſired "him to grind his corn himſelf, and throw the "toll, due for grinding into a tub he would ſee

"hard-by

" hard-by him. The next time they met, the " countryman thanked him for his kindneſs, " and being but a freſh rogue, took the miller " aſide and begged his pardon, for that inſtead " of putting the corn he deſired him into the " tub, he had taken twice as much out of the " tub to put into his own ſack. The miller " ſmiled, and ſaid, it was not you but the mill " that did it; it is the nature of that engine to " make men rogues as ſoon as they come into " the mill, whatever they were before they en- " tered. I am, Madam,

" Your moſt obedient humble ſervant."

N° 3. Friday, December 30, 1715.

MADAM,

IT is ſo hard a taſk to tell you all that paſſes *in Town*, that whatever your deſign was in laying upon me this command, you muſt be contented, inſtead of hearing of all that comes to light between Knightſbridge and Stepney, and St. George's-Fields and Hogſdon, to know only what occurs to me, who dwell among the inhabitants within that length and breadth; but

in obedience to you, I always paſs my time and converſe with a view to the duty you have laid upon me; and have it conſtantly in my thoughts how the repreſentation of the preſent inſtant will pleaſe a friend at a diſtance, for whom I have ſo great a value. But I find I muſt be very careful how I ſet my mind in a morning, if I would be able to make an agreeable rehearſal to you of the occurrences of the day; for the temper with which a man firſt leaves his lodging, in a great meaſure determines what ſhall pleaſe or diſpleaſe till the ſun goes down. I often begin my day with reading. It would be needleſs to tell you the names of great authors with whom I have been lately delighted; but I was particularly pleaſed with the praiſe of a Divine PHILOSOPHER, whom one of my books commends for being the firſt who laboured to make wiſdom conſiſt in practical things, and by whoſe means Philoſophy, which was before converſant in enquiries after hidden, and perhaps uſeleſs truths, became uſeful for our conduct in ordinary life, and the common tract of buſineſs, however exalted or humble were men's occupations: his great employment was, to enquire into the ſources of virtue and vice, and what was good and evil in itſelf, and conſequently to be purſued or avoided; matters of meer ſcience, he was apt to believe, did not at

all concern us; or, in inſtances where it was argued they did, he could be brought to value them no farther than as they promoted worthy actions. The followers of this great man made nature their guide, in purſuing an innocent, a pleaſant, a virtuous, or a glorious life; and they obſerved, that men arrived at theſe according as they were qualified by nature for them, or as they improved or vitiated her endowments by ſloth or vice, induſtry or virtue: they diſtinguiſhed the gifts of the body from the faculties of the mind: ſome bodily gifts, they noted were general, others, particular; the general were health, ſtrength, and beauty; the particular were, having their ſenſes entire, and an excellence in ſome one or other organ; as, ſwiftneſs in the feet, ſtrength in the hands, tone in the voice, and diſtinct articulation of ſounds in the tongue. As to the gifts of the mind, they apprehend nothing to be ſuch, but what was employed, or naturally tended to make men virtuous. I cannot give you any words which expreſs the requiſites there wanted to promote this end better than thoſe of Genius and Memory; by the help of which, under the check of good ſenſe, men became accompliſhed: they laid no great ſtreſs or value upon capacity only to to be good, but faculties exerted to worthy purpoſes was virtue.

Man, according to theſe Sages, was born a citizen, by nature obliged to the offices and duties of ſocial life: to keep this alive in him, and to act according to this natural obligation, ought to be his firſt endeavour; to be more or leſs able to obey this dictate, were the reaſons, and the only reaſons, why a wiſe and good man ſhould put a value upon Riches, Glory, Fame, and Power; theſe things were chiefly to be regarded, which gave moſt pleaſure to the ſoul, and appeared greateſt to the mind, from their own nature; and which to enjoy, the ſenſes were only ſervants, and not companions of the pleaſure. Solid Virtue and true Honour cannot be obtained without the ſenſes; but after they have conveyed the notices which lead to them, the mind only is gratified in the enjoyment of them. It was from theſe reflections they acquired a contempt of Pleaſure, and an ambition to undertake great and honourable actions, which agreed with their notions of Virtue; and from hence it was, that Friendſhip was born, and Juſtice and Equity became the love and admiration of mankind: Glory, by this means, took place of Pleaſure, and was preferred to the many ſeeming advantages of life.

While I was writing down theſe generous hints, to make part of my preſent epiſtle, Couſin

ARTHUR

ARTHUR came in to me, and obſerving the book that lay before me, told me, "I muſt lay it "aſide, and go with him to viſit a place which "owed to Philoſophy the greateſt benefits of "ordinary life; for now at laſt is it a truth," ſaid he, "that the Wiſe Man, or the Philo-"ſopher, can do every thing. Come," ſaid he, "do not let us ſtand ſhivering here in De-"cember; but go with me, and I will carry you "to May-day within this half-hour." I looked him in the face. "ARTHUR," ſaid I, "thou "enjoyeſt more changes than any man upon "earth, beſides thyſelf, who is in his ſenſes."

He did not think me worth a reply, but bid my ſervant order the coach to turn, then began to explain himſelf. "I know you wiſe fellows "have very little regard for us active and viva-"cious ſpirits; therefore I will not be beholden "to you for giving me any credit, but ſhall "carry you to a place where you will think "yourſelf enchanted; for by going up but "one pair of ſtairs, you ſhall be conveyed into "quite another region and climate, and ſee as "agreeable company as any of your acquain-"tance, and thoſe of your acquaintance in the "alacrity and indolence which is beſtowed by "a temperate clime. All that vexes me," ſaid he, "is, that I ſhould be out of countenance to

" introduce you in that thick *Drap de Berry*;
" you ſee this upper coat that I have on myſelf,
" I can eaſily throw off; and I am here in this
" fine camlet, and in a figure fit to paſs my time
" among ruſtling ſilks, and playing of fans, and
" fit for the agility which will be required from
" the invitation of a ſummer's evening, which
" we deſign this ſhall be, among ſo many gentle-
" men and ladies."

I let him talk on, and took coach with him, telling him, " I thought the inhabitants of this " new region would eaſily excuſe one who " you might aſſure them lived in the latitude " of London, and did not expect to be intro- " duced into Fairy-ground, at leaſt before he " was warm in bed again."—" Well," ſaid he, " I know you are an Infidel; but I am carrying " you to a very large apartment, in which there " is a room, finiſhed in ſuch a manner, that " through imperceptible paſſages in the mould- " ings of it, freſh air is always admitted; but " before it is ſo, it is warmed to what degree " of heat ſhall be called for. This is performed " by ſecret meanders in the ſtructure of the " chimney, and was contrived by the direction " of that excellent philoſopher Mr. DESAGU- " LIERS *."

* This paragraph led to a curious altercation of which the particulars may be ſeen in TOWN-TALK, N° VII.

We

We are now arrived at the place of entertainment; and the good company flocked about us as if I were juſt landed from *Iceland* or *Greenland*. A very particular young lady, who has been extremely commended for her wit, which is generally only animal life in her, came up to me with a very obliging air; and taking me by the hand, told me, "I ſhould be extremely "welcome to the gentleman who commanded "there, if I would give him an account by "what adventures I was ſo ſafely arrived "from the *Frigid Zone* to this temperate "region, and, with a very grave air, welcomed "me to *Naples*. You are clad Sir, in the "*Ruſſian* habit, but I ſhall not foreſtall your "ſtory."

When I ſtood in ſome amazement, ſhe gave me to underſtand, "That this city or territory "was anciently called *Pathenope*, and was cele-"brated by the poets, as made for pleaſure, "ſoftneſs, and tranquillity." Upon which ſhe falls back, and at a proper diſtance, aſſuming an air of one ſpeaking a prologue, with a moſt janty courteſy, ſhe repeats with her eyes full upon mine, in praiſe of the place wherein I was to underſtand I was received,

"Theſe are the gentle ſeats that I propoſe,
"And not cold Scythia's undiſſolving ſnows.

" Here huſh'd in calms, the bordering Ocean lays
" Her ſilent coaſt, and rolls in languid waves.
" Refreſhing winds the ſummer heats aſſuage,
" And kindly warmth diſarms the winter's rage.
" Remov'd from noiſe and the tumultuous war,
" Soft Sleep and downy Eaſe inhabit there,
' And dreams unbroken with intruding care.'

It was of no conſequence with her that ſhe injured fine Poetry, in leaving out what ſhe pleaſed, and repeating *here* for *there*, and the like; for ſhe is in that time of life wherein every thing *becomes* that is not in itſelf diſtaſtful; and a beautiful woman need not be exact to be pleaſing.

She had no ſooner done repeating, but ſhe took me by the hand, and conducted me to the upper end of the room, where was placed my ancient friend Mr. JOHNSON, in his armed chair, and one leg before him on a ſtool. You muſt have heard me ſpeak of him formerly, as a man of the moſt prudent good-nature and generoſity which the age has produced. He it ſeems, having heard that the Philoſopher above-mentioned profeſſed to make an apartment to what degree warm he pleaſed, had the beſt in his houſe diſpoſed according to his direction, and firſt employed it to divert his family, and receive the acquaintance of his ſons,

and

and pretenders to his daughters in a mixed aſſembly theſe holidays. Mr. JOHNSON has a very ample fortune, and a numerous family: his eldeſt ſon, now at age, and his daughter marriageable. It is impoſſible to obſerve that he has a greater regatd for one than another; for there is not one of them that cannot have eaſy acceſs even to his purſe in any thing that may be for their uſe or ſervice, provided he does not by his own fancy, in conformity to their deſires, think better for them than they do themſelves. This is very often the caſe, and they apply to him, from knowing his facility, rather as aſking his advice in laying out money, than deſiring money itſelf. All his children know the ſtrength of his purſe; and his kindneſs and juſtice is ſuch, that they conſult one another to know whether the inclinations of one of them may not make it uneaſy to him to gratify another. Thus he is ſure all the children have agreed to what any one of them deſires of him: he is always ready to ſupply them, and they as induſtrious to convert that ſupply into pleaſures whereof he may be a partaker. Therefore this artful room was firſt devoted to innocent mirth, wherein this excellent father was to preſcribe; and Couſin ARTHUR kept his word in promiſing I ſhould be brought into company I ſhould think agreeable. It was a ſatisfaction to Mr. JOHNSON to ſee me there;

there; and pointing to the next chair, I drew it near his armed one. When I was ſeated, the company went to their different entertainments, and left us to talk of themſelves, or any thing elſe that ſhould occur.

I made my friend compliments upon the happineſs of his temper; "that though he had now "the remains of a gouty fit upon him, he could "caſt off all ſourneſs ſo well, as to take delight "in being preſent at the pleaſures of young "people."—"Sir," replied he, "I think it as "much a part of life to look on now with equa-"nimity, as it was to act my part ambitiouſly "in the pleaſures my fortune offered me at "the years my ſon is of now. You ſhall ſtay "dinner, and this day you muſt be of my "family."

I did not make much difficulty of paſſing my time in ſo good company. The day paſſed as it uſually does in the midſt of feaſting, without much enjoyment of each other's company; but repaſt, if taken moderately, exhilarates the ſpirits for mirth; and all the company ſeemed to have had that in view by the appearance they made by candle-light; for you could ſee a complacency in every face, as if they united rather to receive their ſatisfaction from what they ſee pleaſing in others, than from any boiſterous exultation in themſelves.

You

You muſt know, couſin ARTHUR began the ball, and took out Mrs. BIDDY, the third daughter of Mr. JOHNSON. He is, you will allow, a moſt graceful dancer, and being very much himſelf when he dances from the exactneſs of his ear, his motions are moſt exquiſitely pleaſing to the ſpectator, and the lady who dances with him. What makes me admire him of all the young men I have ſeen is, that he has the look of a Brother to his partner, rather than that of a Lover. He had a moſt obliging care to make Mrs. BIDDY recover from a downcaſt air ſhe gave herſelf, by hinting to her in dumb ſhew that little fault, with a ſmile and a nod of the head, which begged her pardon. It was delighful to ſee the old man in his chair ſo much concerned in the matter, and ſhew an earneſtneſs next to motion to the tune. I aſked him, "who "that gentleman was that ſate over againſt us, "not much pleaſed with this part of the enter-"tainment." He anſwered, "He is a near re-"lation of mine; he minds nothing but buſi-"neſs, and does not underſtand the importance "of trifles. I mean," continued he, "my kinſ-"man does not underſtand that it is neceſſary "to make young people know how to do theſe "things gracefully; and yet at the ſame time "know it is a trifle when they have excelled in "it. When young people learn them with that

"ſenſe

" ſenſe of them, they are delighted while they " learn, and are not vain when they are perfect. " It is eaſily to be ſeen who of the company " had this notion of the matter when they were " taught; you ſee there is not that ridiculous " awe and ſerioufneſs which appears in thoſe " whom it coſts labour and thought to whiſk " about a room. The eaſe and tranquillity of " the mind ſhew themſelves in graceful and free " motion."

I took an occaſion to ſaunter round the room, and throw myſelf in the way of the company in the intervals from dancing. Fine Mrs. DIMPANY aſked me for your Ladyſhip, with a thouſand other queſtions I knew not how to reſolve. She keeps up her humour of pretending to wit and a ſpice of learning. She ſaid, " You would be ſurprized to hear we had met " at *Naples*; and deſired me to ſay ſhe was " mightily diverted with the *Hecatombs*;" (ſhe would, I ſuppoſe, have ſaid the *Catacombs*.) You are not to wonder that the particularity of being in ſo hard a ſeaſon removed from the ſeverities of it, kept the company together moſt of the night. The invention which is brought to this perfection by Mr. DESAGULIERS is what I know will be an entertaining piece of news to you; for me there could not be a thing more to be wiſhed, eſpecially to us *Iſlanders*, than

that without motion you might enjoy the air of any country without the trouble of ſailing or travelling to it. Add to this, that it is always freſh; and for that reaſon, beſide the pleaſures it affords to men in health, it adminiſters new life to the ſick and decrepid, who often periſh for the want of this ſole convenience of going into better air. You are to know alſo that the gentleman acknowledges the firſt invention to a French Author who has written a tract upon the ſubject, and a partner of that Author is come into England to claim the benefit of it. Our countryman has the candour to admit his pretenſions even to his improvements, from the reſpect he pays to Art, provided he performs the work of which he aſſerts himſelf the Inventor.

I cannot leave off talking of Mr. JOHNSON's room. Whether it was the natural effect of the ſerene ſeaſon which Art had introduced in his apartment, or that his own influence over the company had diffuſed his temper into young and old, I know not; but never was there an evening paſſed by a whole aſſembly, that ever I ſaw in England before, where there was nothing ſurprizing, but all delightful. You would have thought yourſelf in a dream, or that you were beholding a picture of what ſhould be pleaſure. But I fear the Philoſophy I was reading in the morning had ſome effect upon me in all I had

to

to do with the next four-and-twenty hours; for it was a very hard thing to put me in a rapturous way. Otherwiſe I cannot but own to you, that if I had ſeen any of the Nymphs which I met at *Naples*, even in our cold climate at *High Mall*, I could not have been ſo unconcerned a ſpectator as I was at Mr. JOHNSON's.

I was mightily pleaſed with a circumſtance which happened that night. There was a letter ſome way or other conveyed into the ſleeve of the youngeſt daughter: ſhe brought it to her father to peruſe; told him, "ſhe knew no one "was to be there that night but what was "proper for her to receive an overture from;" ſaid, "ſhe would anſwer it; and deſired his ad-"vice what it ſhould be." This communication of councils even in ſuch a particular, and her declaration at firſt, "ſhe would anſwer it," is what I take ſo much notice of. Mrs. JOHNSON talks of ſending her ſon abroad to be a fine gentleman, and ſays, "he ſhall live ſome days "in every climate with her, before he ſets out, "for fear he ſhould catch the ſmall-pox *, in his "enquiries after knowledge in poſt-chaiſes in "foreign countries."

I think I have almoſt written my quantity of words to you; but as you are not always to

* Before the fortunate diſcovery of Inoculation, this apprehenſion was a very ſerious concern.

expect

expect matter in them, I think it but reaſonable that you ſhould have them ſometimes in manuſcript; and that the want of ſenſe may be recommended by the brightneſs and fairneſs of the character and ſand. Expect then, to have very ſoon a Letter of Love from me; for I have juſt now ſent me a fine ink, which the author calls the PERSIAN Ink *; and that not without a conceit; for it is, like their Laws, "unalterable, "and not to be obliterated;" and, it ſeems, forty of the beſt judges in Ink juſtify it to be the beſt; you may be ſure he means the beſt judges in Ink, the Wits at BUTTON's. If you can forgive all this impertinenc, the next nonſenſe you have ſhall be "in amorous ſtyle much "eſteemed," according to Mr. AUSTIN this famous inventor, "by curious Writers;" and I hope you will not doubt of the truth of my heart from "the Artificial Sand," which is all that you will ever find to have any falſe glittering that comes from, Madam,

Your moſt devoted humble ſervant.

* "The PERSIAN-INK POWDER and the INK-POWDER; the inventor, JAMES AUSTIN, Haberdaſher, gives it the name of PERSIAN-INK, it being like their laws unalterable and not to be obliterated; above 40 of the beſt judges in Ink have ſigned a certificate to juſtify it to be the beſt yet made; Sold in 6d. and 12d. bottles, and in Powder at the uſual prices. N. B. AUSTIN makes a fine black glittering Sand, much eſteemed by curious Writers, and far exceeding any other Artificial Sand." ADVERTISEMENT in the Original TOWN-TALK, in 4to.

Friday,

N° IV. Friday, January 6, 1715-16.

MADAM,

WE were the other day a large company of us at Mr. JOHNSON's, where as it uſually happens in an aſſembly made up of people of the firſt underſtanding, when they ſit long together, and cloſe in converſation, the diſcourſe began to fix to a point. A gentleman in the company, particularly nice in his diſcerning, happened to ſay, "That there was a diſ-"cretion in the choice of the virtues which "men ought to practiſe in the eye of the world; "and that choice ſhould be determined by a "man's circumſtance and character: for," continued he, "fortune being the common diſtinc-"tion amongſt men, they who have the largeſt "ſhare of it take a ſecret offence againſt thoſe who "would ſet up a diſtinction ſuperior to it; and, "conſequently, ſet up a greatneſs in deſpiſing "that which only the generality of the world "call greatneſs. For this reaſon, men of wealth "and power uſually contemn and ſuppreſs men "of low fortunes, who have qualities that would "better befit the condition of their ſuperiors.

"HORACE,

"HORACE * obſerves very prettily upon this "littleneſs of ſpirit in mankind; and ſays, that "he who gives himſelf airs of being anxious "for the common-wealth, or the building of "churches, puts every man upon the enquiry "of what family were his father and mother †."

Your couſin ARTHUR, who will let no one have all the talk to himſelf, but has a good civil way of taking it from another, ſaid, "You "put me in mind, Sir, of what happened in "May laſt, in the celebration of his Majeſty's "birth-day. Mr. DOGGET the player, who has "very good ſenſe ‡, and always diſtinguiſhed "himſelf as far as the circumſtances of his life "would admit, took upon him to celebrate that "day in an uncommon but proper manner. "He gave out upon the river, ſome days before, "that there ſhould be two compleat dreſſes, "with a ſum of money, for two watermen "of ſuch an age and character, who ſhould "firſt arrive, ſetting out at London Bridge, at

* 1 Sat. vi. 34—37.

† "If noiſy Tom ſhould in the Senate prate,
"That he would anſwer both for Church and State;
"All mortals muſt be curious to enquire,
"Who could this coxcomb be, and who his ſire?" SWIFT.

‡ Of which he about this time gave a ſolid proof, by marrying a widow with 20,000l. See more of him in STEELE's Epiſtolary Correſpondence, vol. I. p. 93 On the ſame, or a ſimilar plan, Dogget eſtabliſhed a fund for the encouragement of watermen, that ſtill ſubſiſts; and prizes provided from his endowment are rowed for annually.

" the boat in which he and two or three of his " friends ſat, with the reward ready for the " victors, over-againſt Vaux-Hall.

" Never was there greater alacrity ſhewn than " during this contention, from the river covered " with boats, and the ſhore crowded alſo with " ſpectators. The huzzas from all parts were " LONG LIVE KING GEORGE! And the happy " men who won the prizes received them from " the generous patriot and ſubject with this " honeſt exhortation, 'Be thankful for your " King and your Liberty!'

" When the prizes were received, the acclamation was as loud as at an ancient Roman " *Naumachia*, and there wanted nothing to make " this as well received as it deſerved, but that " it came from one with whom men had been " delighted in another idea, and from whom " mens prejudices prevented the reception of " any thing that was ſublime."

A third young man, whoſe name I do not know, but is one of thoſe ſuperficial animals to whom it is a misfortune to be bred Scholars, having a mind to ſhine in his turn on this ſubject, interrupted Mr. ARTHUR, and, with a more exalted tone and ſtyle, began to prove what was no way doubtful, by quotations no way neceſſary.

" Ho

"HORACE *," says he, "whom I think," he adds, pointing to the first speaker, "this gentle-"man named just now,

"*Metiri se quemque suo modulo ac pede, verum est* †."

Mr. ARTHUR reassumed the discourse, being, it seems, a friend to the gentleman, who knew not how to bear his learning, and proceeded to inform us, that he ended the evening of the last Birth-day at an entertainment in York-Buildings, where the Patentee of the Royal Company of Comedians celebrated the festival at an expence not often to be repeated by a man of the greatest fortune; but which, all the performers in it being volunteers, was much below what some with a kind, and others with a malicious design, reported it. But I mention it now in pursuance of what my learned friend there said from HORACE, "That every man should take "care to avoid expences above their character "and circumstances." The sanguine temper which precipitates people into excesses of that sort was most admirably rallied in an Epilogue alluding to many incidents in the life and conduct of the founder of the feast, Sir RICHARD STEELE.

* 1 Ep. vii. 98.

† "We all shall surely find,
"That the best station which best suits our mind. J. DUNCOMBE.

You know ARTHUR is remarkable for ſpeaking and reading verſes with a good air and accent; and that deſign of YORK BUILDINGS being ſoon to be put in execution, we were very curious to know any thing that paſſed there. After a little heſitation and muſing—"Since," ſaid he, "I know none of this company was here "to ſee Mr. WILKS ſpeak that celebrated Epi- "logue, quite out of the ſtrain of an actor, "but infinitely better than any thing he ever "performed on the ſtage, I ſhall venture to re- "peat it."

He was going to do ſo; when a Lady, with a ſide-bow, begging ARTHUR's pardon for the interruption, deſired of Mr. JOHNSON, whom ſhe knew well acquainted with the Undertaker, to give her ſome notion of the project to be put in execution there, before ſhe heard what paſſed in it on the Birth day. To whom, Mr. JOHNSON; "The Diſpoſition, which you call a Project, has "nothing in it more chimerical than to ſup- "poſe that there are two hundred perſons in "this town, who will be glad to meet, when "they are ſummoned, to be entertained for two "hours and a half, at a lower expence than ſee- "ing an OPERA, with all the pleaſures which "the liberal and mechanic Arts in conjunction, "and in their turn, can produce—Muſick, Elo- "quence, and Poetry, are the powers which do

"moſt

" moſt ſtrongly affect the imagination, and in-
" fluence the paſſions of men. The greateſt
" Maſters in theſe Sciences will find their ac-
" count, in turning their thoughts towards the
" entertainment of this ſelect aſſembly, which
" is to conſiſt of a hundred gentlemen, and as
" many ladies, of leading taſte in politeneſs,
" wit, and learning.

" The apartment for this uſe is beautifully
" adorned with paintings of human figures and
" architecture; the ſeats for the audience am-
" phitheatrically built; the lights and other
" ornaments diſpoſed alſo by the moſt ſkilful
" mechanicks in ſuch a manner, that the com-
" pany themſelves neceſſarily become a more
" beautiful ſcene than any they have ever
" before been preſented with elſewhere.

" Diverſions propoſed in this undertaking are
" to conſiſt of the repreſentation of ſome great
" incidents in antiquity in the manner in which
" they were tranſacted, according to the beſt
" information to be obtained from men the moſt
" converſant in medals, paintings, hiſtory, and
" philoſophy.

" An improvement of the public taſte in
" pleaſures, which is rather corrupted through
" the inſolence of fortune, ariſing from ſenſual
" gratifications, than from want of juſt con-
" ceptions in general in the people of condition,

" is induſtriouſly to be laboured. Moſt men " know what is right; but they are come into " the practice of the contrary, with a certain " acknowledgement of their being in the wrong, " and contempt of any plan towards amend- " ment. For this reaſon it ſeems to be ne- " ceſſary, that he who would ſucceed in this " kind of work, ſhould take off all ſeverity " from the method he ſhould propoſe; and " therefore, this inſtitution or Eſtabliſhment " is a deſign to promote virtue by pleaſure, and " knowledge by diverſion. This Project will " be to the Stage, what an Under-plot is to a " Play. It may unavoidably have a good effect " upon the Theatrical Repreſentations, and " the approbation of perſons of genius of " both ſexes aſſembled frequently together may " diffuſe itſelf through the age, and inſenſibly " correct their falſe notions of delicacy. The " place prepared for this aſſembly, and the aſ- " ſembly itſelf, is called the CENSORIUM.

" The CENSORIUM, every body knows, is the " organ of ſenſe, as the eye is of ſight; and it " ſeems more proper to uſe a word, which " implies the *Sentio tantum*, the bare con- " ception of what is preſented to the ſpectator, " rather than any name which in a didactic " manner pronounces what ought to be re- " ceived or rejected."

Mr.

Mr. JOHNSON paused here, when the agreeable and beauteous AMORET, who is as much more knowing as she is more fair than the rest of her sex, with an irresolute voice asked Mr. JOHNSON, "How it happened, that the undertaker of this design had, against the sense and practice of all other sages who have ever yet appeared in the world, made the presence of Ladies necessary for the promotion of knowledge."

"Madam," replied Mr. JOHNSON, "you may have observed, that diversion was made the instrument of improvement of our minds, according to the plan I said he had laid down. Diversions are never so polite, or under such just regulations, as in a mixed company of men and women, who extremely esteem each other. Prepossession in each other's favour produces an ambition to please; at the same time that they know they cannot do so, but under the restraint of mutual respect. Philosophy in vain attempts contempt of pleasure, which is the gift only of the most sublime and exalted spirits; but it may with much more ease give law and bounds to pleasures, and make us all its followers. An habit contracted from just entertainments, will create a scorn of mean and frivolous ones; and they are much safer from excesses, who

" get a diſreliſh for amuſements except within " due bounds, than thoſe who being wholly de- " barred from ſuch delights, have an eagerneſs " for them beyond due limits. Our inſtitution " therefore is to direct not to baniſh pleaſure: " and we who are promoters of the deſign, do " expect more from the joint endeavours of a " ſett of learned and well-bred gentlemen, who " take upon them, with the moſt excellent " performers in their friendſhip and direction, " to exhibit much more entertaining ſcenes, " than ever were produced by the Italian " theatre, or any company of actors that have " ever appeared."

Mr. ARTHUR interpoſed upon this occaſion; and ſaid, " Mr. JOHNSON, the leſs expectation we " raiſe, the more confident may we be of our " ſucceſs. I wiſh therefore you would either " yourſelf, or let me tell the company, how " well we were entertained on the Birth-night."

" It will be ſurprizing," replied Mr. JOHNSON, " to the company who honoured the undertaker " that evening to hear, that all which they ſaw " ſpread before them in the *area* of the CEN- " SORIUM, came within the ſum of ſixteen " pounds; but though that had an air of mag- " nificence, the ladies and gentlemen oppoſitely " diſpoſed, the *Orcheſtre*, the *Roſtrum*, and the " *Throne* ſo agreeably filled, took up the ex-

" pectation,

" pectation, till the Prologue which was very " prettily ſpoken by Miſs YOUNGER, introduced " an ODE, which was admirably performed, in " honour of the KING and Royal Family; and " addreſſed to the perſon ſeated on the Throne, " in the habit and enſigns of Liberty. Couſin " ARTHUR," ſaid he, " you ſhall repeat the " ODE;" which he did, as follows:

" FREEDOM! Goddeſs frank and fair,
" Laughter flaſhing in thy eye;
" Hither through the lightſome Air,
" On Thy gloſſy pinions flie.

" Songs of joy to THEE we pay,
" Thine and CÆSAR's is the Morn;
" Hail to that auſpicious day,
" Thou and He at once were born.

" Laws from armies lately fearing,
" Oft we try'd to ſing in vain:
" Chains by vanquiſh'd foes preparing,
" Mirth was impious, Joy profane.

" CÆSAR, now the throne poſſeſſing,
" CAROLINA bright and fair,
" With a race of Heroes bleſſing
" ALBION's young victorious heir.

" Safely come; for nought ſhall harm Thee,
" CÆSAR reigning Thou ſhalt reign;
" Every Muſe ſhall join to charm Thee,
" Ever mingling in Thy train.

" Wealth

" Wealth his golden wings diſplaying,
" Plenty with a rowling eye,
" O'er her cheeks the dimples playing,
" Hand in hand with THEE ſhall flie.

" CÆSAR and his fortune guarding,
" Hover ever round His throne;
" So ſhall He, thy faith rewarding,
" Smile on THEE and *Thine* alone."

The company were extremely pleaſed with the deſign, and offered to be ſubſcribers to it. But Mr. JOHNSON informing them it was too late, they deſired him to ſecure them a reverſion of ſuch tickets as the preſent poſſeſſors ſhould, by going out of town, or any other accident, not make uſe of themſelves.

He made them that promiſe, taking their names in a TATTLE-BOOK *; " but," ſays he, " we were not let looſe to the Delicacies on the " tables before us, till the Epilogue, which " ARTHUR has alſo promiſed to repeat, was " ſpoken by Mr. WILKS in the manner above-" mentioned."

" You are to know then," interrupted Mr. ARTHUR, " that the undertaker of the CEN-" SORIUM, who is a comic hero, or familiar " ſage, ſeems to expect ſucceſs in his great en-" terprizes, by being and bearing any thing " with his friends while they are ſuch, and

* *Table-Book.*

" abating

" abating and remitting nothing to his enemies,
" till they ceaſe to be ſo. Were not this his
" turn of mind, it would have been impoſſible
" for him to have ſtood the loud laughter, on
" the ſeveral occaſions, wherein WILKS made
" no ſcruple of pointing at him, while he ſpoke
" the Verſes I am now going to recite, without
" the aſſiſtance of the ample and facetious pre-
" ſence of that Philoſopher.

EPILOGUE, SPOKEN AT THE CENSORIUM, ON THE KING'S BIRTH-DAY.

" THE Sage whoſe gueſts you are to-night, is
" known
" To watch the public weal, though not his own:
" Still have his thoughts uncommon ſchemes purſued,
" And teem'd with projects for his Country's good.
" Early in youth, his enemies have ſhewn,
" How narrowly he miſs'd the Chemic Stone *:
" Not FRIAR BACON promis'd England more;
" Our Artiſt, laviſh of his fancied ore,
" Could he have brought his great deſign to paſs,
" Had wall'd us round with Gold inſtead of Braſs.
" That Project ſunk, you ſaw him entertain
" A notion more chimerical and vain,

* It is well known that Steele once entertained hopes of being ſucceſsful in the purſuit of the Philoſopher's Stone; the laboratory was at Poplar, and is now converted into a garden-houſe. In " The Britiſh " Cenſor," a ſatire publiſhed in 1712, he is mentioned as

" A Chemiſt now, whoſe vain projection broke,
" Was not his ſenſe in part diſſolv'd in ſmoke."

" To

" To give chaſte morals * to ungovern'd youth,
" To Gameſters honeſty, to Stateſmen truth;
" To make you virtuous all; a thought more bold,
" Than that of changing Droſs and Lead to Gold.
" But now to greater actions he aſpir'd,
" For ſtill his Country's good our Champion fir'd;
" In Treaties vers'd, in Politicks grown wiſe,
" He look'd on DUNKIRK † with ſuſpicious eyes;
" Into her dark foundations boldly dug,
" And overthrew in fight the fam'd SIEUR TUGGHE.
" Still on his wide unwearied view extends,
" Which I may tell, ſince none are here but Friends;
" In a few months he is not without hope,
" But 'tis a ſecret to convert the Pope.
" Of this however, he'll inform you better,
" Soon as his Holineſs receives his Letter ‡;
" Meantime he celebrates, for 'tis his way,
" With ſomething ſingular this happy day;
" His honeſt zeal ambitious to approve,
" For the Great Monarch he was born to love;
" Reſolv'd in Arms and Arts to do him right,
" And ſerve his Sov'reign like a Truſty Knight."

P. S. I ſend you all the FREEHOLDERS ‖ that are come out; they are very entertaining, honeſt, and inſtructive.

* TATLER, SPECTATOR, GUARDIAN, LOVER, READER, &c. &c.

† In "The Importance of Dunkirk conſidered," and "The French Faith repreſented in the preſent State of Dunkirk."

‡ The Dedication to "An Account of the State of the Roman Catholic Religion throughout the World." See "STEELE's Epiſtolary Correſpondence," vol. II. p. 404.

‖ Then publiſhing in periodical Numbers by his friend ADDISON.

Friday,

N° V. Friday *, January 13, 1715-16.

MADAM,

YOUR laſt admoniſhes me, that it is within the orders you firſt ſent me, that I ſhould ſend you ſometimes ſome Politic news; but I am very averſe to theſe ſubjects. However, it has ſo happened juſt now, that the TOWN is too buſy for Pleaſure or Speculation, and all the CHAT is of the PRETENDER. I ſhould never have heard of it, if all this had not been brought to TOWN, and made the whole TALK of it. You remember I told you in my firſt, that COVENT-GARDEN is the heart of the TOWN, and by that rule, the PLAY-HOUSE is the TOWN-HALL. I muſt confeſs, my chief intelligence is in that neighbourhood. I happened to ſit near two Courteſans in the firſt gallery, the other evening, who were warm in politicks. One of them, who I perceived belonged to the party of the Whigs, ſaid "the Pretender was ruined, for

* This number, which inſtantly paſſed through three editions, was ſold for *Six-pence*.

"that

"that his general MAR *, under pretence of "going to meet him at Peterhead, had left "Perth, and taken an opportunity to make his "escape." You are to know Madam, that ever since MASKS † have been disallowed, an open confidence has done the same thing, and the wenches being impudent and meretriciously dressed, are as well known as if they wore the former signal.

A lady of very great fame for her beauty, impudence, and something like wit, and from a similitude in merit and manners, was particularly a favourite of the late secretary BOLINGBROKE, contradicted the news of the Whig Libertine; and indeed, with a superior air, gave her to understand, "that her friend had sent her "a token from France: There, Hussey," said she, "let any of your queer party answer that, "if they can!"

* John, 18th lord Erskine, and 11th earl of Mar, a man of the most shining parts and greatest capacity of most of his contemporaries, was one of the sixteen peers of Scotland in the four first British parliaments, and one of the principal secretaries of state to Queen Anne. On the accession of George I. he was deprived of all his offices, and retiring to his estate in the North of Scotland, raised a rebellion in favour of the Pretender, whom he proclaimed Sept. 11, 1715, and commanded his troops at Sherriff-muir, where he was defeated, and going abroad, died at Aix-la-chapelle, 1732. His estate was purchased by his brother John's son, who now enjoys it. The Earl was twice married; first, to Margaret, daughter of Thomas Earl of Kinnoul, by whom he had Thomas Lord Erskine; and secondly, to Frances Pierrepoint, sister to Evelyn duke of Kingston.

† A *Mask* was long the distinguishing characteristic of a WOMAN *of the Town*.

It

It is well known that Statesman and Wit had writ more than songs upon this lady; and she had been his desk to write upon *, in too notorious a manner to describe to you. What she threw at her sister proved to be the PRETENDER's Declaration, which was conveyed from one hand to another the whole evening, till at last it was taken up and carried to a hand which I will not take upon me to name to you, but he has writ a long answer to the *Manifesto*. This letter has in it the Declaration at large, with an antidote to the poison of it; for which reason, enclosing it will entertain you a longer time than any of my former have attempted.

"To the PRETENDER.

"SIR,

"A DISCOURSE your Confessor soon "after my expulsion from Parliament for the "CRISIS had with a friend of mine at Paris, "gives me to understand you are not unac- "quainted with my name and character; and "therefore you will not be surprized that I "affect to do extraordinary things, however ri- "diculous or odious I may appear to your "friends, provided that irregularity draws an "attention to what makes for the common "cause, in which I am engaged to the end of

* The writing here alluded to, was signed, it is said, *sur ses belles fesses*.

"my

" my life. I writ lately to the Pope about " the ſtate of Religion; and though I have reaſon " to fear I have not converted him, I ſtill pro- " ceed in ſuch endeavours; and ſince you are " now landed in Britain, I take the liberty with " you, his godſon, in order to lay before you " the true ſtate of the queſtion between you and " this nation. Whatever wild notions have taken " place amongſt us, they have not prevailed ſo " abſolutely as to leave you any probable grounds " of hope, either from right or force.

" There are, Sir, thouſands in England, that " know the baſis of all government is the good " of the people governed; and that all incidents " of a ſtate muſt be rectified by that ſingle rule, " and no other; and that it is an impious and " prophane thought to believe any other maxim to " be conſonant to the Goodneſs of the CREATOR, " and that law of nature which he has implanted " in the mind of every man living. According " to this, the late King James was expelled " Scotland, and himſelf, by his crimes and flight, " abdicated England. He took you, it ſeems, " with him at that time, and bred you in the " Roman Catholick religion; from which par- " ticular of your Faith, were I to admit that " you are his ſon, which I do not in the leaſt " regard whether you are or not, you would " (beſides all other diſadvantges from what has

" paſſed

" paſſed ſince) be at beſt, in a worſe condition " than he was, when the Bill of Excluſion " againſt him was brought into Parliament. " That bill was offered when he was only ſuſ- " pected to be what you do not in the leaſt deny " yourſelf to be. His conduct in the throne, " by no means gives us good expectations from " you; and you cannot be ſurprized, that after " this experience, we do all in our power to " keep out you, who have no pretence but that " of being his ſon, with a profeſſion of faith that " had like to have barred him himſelf, under " whom you claim. Sir, you may depend " upon it, we think our lives in leſs hazard with " our ſwords in our hands againſt you, than if " we ſhould be at your mercy from a throne.

" Had the gentleman who ſent you to France, " left you in ſafe hands behind him; if you had " appeared his innocent child, your caſe had " been before the nation, as an object of com- " paſſion, and Juſtice muſt have been una- " voidably done on that occaſion; but your " patron either knew you to be none of his, or " elſe was very indiſcreet to carry you to be " unqualified for the prince of a Proteſtant " people, when he knew he owed his own " Crown to the diſſimulation of his religion, and " his loſs of empire to the profeſſion of it. *The* " *buſineſs of mankind cannot ſtand ſtill, if Princes*

" *by their unhappy conduct render it unſafe for them*
" *to remain at the head of their ſubjects, and what-*
" *ever has befallen you, you are to attribute to your*
" *Pretended Father, not his people, who by his*
" *flight with you, were under a neceſſity to fly to the*
" *neareſt refuge.* You have not ſo much as
" pretended to be a Proteſtant, and we very
" well know, that if you ſhould pretend it, it
" would be only a pretence; we know, that
" coming as you do, a profeſſed Papiſt, you
" are bound in Conſcience, under pain of Dam-
" nation, to propagate your religion, not by all
" fair, but by all poſſible means, and conſe-
" quently, that you will ſtand for ever bound
" under the ſame pain of Damnation, which
" your Prieſts will conſtantly thunder in your
" ears to take away, as faſt as you can have
" power ſo to do, not only the eſtates and li-
" berties, but the lives of all who will not be-
" come Papiſts, and that in the moſt cruel
" manner, for an example to others.

" The moſt ſolemn Promiſes and Oaths,
" which you would be ſo gracious as to make,
" will be in themſelves, according to your re-
" ligion, unlawful and null. We have Examples
" of this in all times and places, you are not to
" depend on certain perſons, whom you think to
" ſwear againſt their conſciences to the preſent
" eſtabliſhment. They do not mean Popery for

" your

" your ſake, but they would be contented to " have it in themſelves by your means; as " you would ſwear to them till you carry " your point, ſo they would ſwear to you to " carry theirs. But when Popiſh miniſters of " the Church of England ſhould feel your ſu- " perſtition, by diſplacing them for your down- " right Roman Catholick prieſts, they would " become in an inſtant, entire Proteſtants, as " they are now but partially ſuch, and abhor " all unreaſonable doctrines and impoſitions " more heartily than ever Luther did, till they " were re-inſtated in their livings.

" This I tell you as a truth you may depend " upon; but leſt you ſhould no more mind me " than that graceleſs wretch the Pope * has, I " muſt go on to tell you, that we will take all " poſſible means to prevent your power to hurt " us. We have read of inquiſitions and maſ- " ſacres, and are too lately eſcaped from the " danger of univerſal ſlaughter, to truſt to what " we muſt expect from you. This we know to " be our only time to ſtand our ground. When " you come we know the calamity will be final, " but we have no reaſon to fear it, but as a juſt " judgment upon thoſe who call themſelves " Proteſtants, for their thirſt of Popiſh power " and dominion over their Proteſtant brethren. " We know who ſhall be found oppoſing you,

* To whom STEELE had then lately addreſſed a Letter. See p. 60.

" will not be uſed like thoſe who are now re-
" belling againſt King George. Thoſe moderate
" laws, which give every criminal all poſſible
" advantage to make whatever defence their
" caſe can admit, will ceaſe when you conquer;
" and we ſhall be executed, nay extirpated ſum-
" marily, without juſtice, or form of law. In the
" time of king James, we ſaw numbers who had
" been deceived into pleading Guilty, upon pro-
" miſe of pardon, were hanged up as ſoon as they
" had done what entitled them to that pardon".

While I was now writing, your Declaration has come into my hands; the very firſt paragraph diſcovers the ſpecious and wordy ſtyle of our late Secretary *, who foreſaw he ſhould be a refugee; and a refugee without religion, is a very proper miniſter to a bigot; for Infidelity will no doubt execute, without remorſe, the dictates of Superſtition. An old friend of Mr. Secretary's ſhews it about as a piece of wit and eloquence of her gallant, and ſwears we are blockheads if we are not converted by it. I ſhall recite it, leſt you ſhould accuſe me of miſ-repreſentation.

" JAMES VIII. by the Grace of God, of
" Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, King,
" Defender of the Faith, &c. to all our loving

* BOLINGBROKE; Secretary during the four laſt years of Q. Anne.

" ſubjects

" ſubjects of what degree or quality ſoever,
" greeting. As WE are firmly reſolved never
" to loſe any opportunity of aſſerting our un-
" doubted title to the Imperial Crown of
" theſe realms, and of endeavouring to get the
" poſſeſſion of that right which is devolved
" upon Us by the laws of God and Man; ſo
" muſt WE, in juſtice to the ſentiments of our
" own heart, declare, That nothing in the world
" can give Us ſo great ſatisfaction, as to owe to
" the endeavours of our loyal ſubjects both our
" own and their reſtoration to that happy ſettle-
" ment, which can alone deliver this church and
" nation from the calamities which they lie at
" preſent under, and from thoſe future miſeries
" which muſt be the conſequences of the preſent
" uſurpation. During the life of our dear ſiſter
" of glorious memory, the happineſs which our
" people enjoyed, ſoftened in ſome degree, the
" hardſhip of our own fate; and WE muſt further
" confeſs, that when we reflected on the good-
" neſs of her nature, and her inclination to
" juſtice, we could not but perſuade ourſelf,
" that ſhe intended to eſtabliſh and perpetuate
" the peace which ſhe had given to theſe king-
" doms, by deſtroying for ever, all competition
" to the ſucceſſion of the crown, and by *con-*
" *ſenting* to Us, at laſt, the enjoyment of that
" inheritance out of which WE had been ſo long
" kept, which her conſcience muſt inform her

" was our due, and which her principles muſt
" lead her to deſire that WE might obtain. But
" ſince the time, it pleaſed God to put a period
" to her life, and not to ſuffer Us to throw our-
" ſelf, as WE then firmly purpoſed to have done,
" upon our people; WE have not been able to
" look upon the preſent condition of our king-
" doms, or to conſider their future proſpect,
" without all the horror or indignation which
" ought to fill the breaſt of every Scotſ-
" man. WE have beheld a foreign family,
" aliens to our country, diſtant in blood, and
" ſtrangers even to our language, aſcend the
" throne. WE have ſeen the reins of govern-
" ment put into the hands of a faction, and that
" authority which was deſigned for the protec-
" tion of all, exerciſed by a few of the worſt,
" to the oppreſſion of the beſt and greateſt
" number of our ſubjects. Our Siſter has not
" been left at reſt in her grave, her name has
" been ſcurrilouſly abuſed, her glory as far as
" in theſe people lay, inſolently defaced, and
" her faithful ſervants inhumanly perſecuted.
" A Parliament has been procured by the moſt
" unwarrantable influences, and by the groſſeſt
" corruptions, to ſerve the vileſt ends; and they,
" who ought to be the guardians of the liber-
" ties of the people, are become the inſtru-
" ments of tyranny; whilſt the principal powers,
" engaged

" engaged in the late wars, do enjoy the bleſſings " of peace, and are attentive to diſcharge their " debts, and eaſe their people, Great-Britain, in " the midſt of peace, feels all the loads of war. " New debts are contracted, new armies are " raiſed at home, Dutch forces are brought " into theſe kingdoms, and by taking poſſeſſion " of the dutchy of Bremen, in violation of the " public faith, a door is opened, by the Uſur- " per, to let in an inundation of foreigners from " abroad, and to reduce theſe nations to the " ſtate of a province, to one of the moſt incon- " ſiderable provinces of the empire.

" Theſe are ſome few of the many real evils " into which theſe kingdoms have been be- " trayed, under pretence of being reſcued and " ſecured from dangers purely imaginary; and " theſe are ſuch conſequences of abandoning " the old Conſtitution, as WE perſuade ourſelves " very many of thoſe who promoted the preſent " unjuſt and illegal ſettlement never intended.

" WE obſerve with the utmoſt ſatisfaction, " that the generality of our ſubjects are awakened " with a juſt ſenſe of their danger, and that they " ſhow themſelves reſolved to take ſuch meaſures " as may effectually reſcue them from that " bondage which has, by the artifice of a few " deſigning men, and the concurrence of many " unhappy cauſes, been brought upon them.

" WE adore the wiſdom of Divine Provi-
" dence, which has opened a way to our reſto-
" ration, by the ſucceſs of thoſe very meaſures
" that were laid to diſappoint us for ever: and
" we muſt earneſtly conjure all our loving ſub-
" jects, not to ſuffer that ſpirit to faint or die
" away, which has been ſo miraculouſly raiſed
" in all parts of our kingdom; but to purſue,
" with all the vigour and hopes of ſucceſs,
" which ſo juſt and righteous a cauſe ought to
" inſpire, thoſe methods which the *Finger* of GOD
" ſeems to point out to them.

" WE are coming to take our part in all the
" dangers and difficulties to which any of our
" ſubjects, from the greateſt down to the
" meaneſt, may be expoſed on this important
" occaſion; to relieve our ſubjects in Scotland
" from the hardſhips they groan under, on ac-
" count of the late unhappy union; and to re-
" ſtore the kingdom to its ancient, free, and in-
" dependent ſtate. WE have before our eyes
" the example of our royal grandfather, who
" fell a ſacrifice to rebellion; and of our royal
" uncle, who by a train of miracles, eſcaped
" the rage of barbarous and blood-thirſty rebels,
" and lived to exerciſe his clemency towards
" thoſe who had waged war againſt his father
" and himſelf; who had driven him to ſeek

" ſhelter

" ſhelter in foreign lands, and who had even ſet
" a price upon his head.

" WE ſee the ſame inſtances of cruelty re-
" newed againſt Us, by men of the ſame prin-
" ciples, without any other reaſon than the
" conſciouſneſs of their own guilt, and the im-
" placable malice of their own hearts: for in
" the account of ſuch men, it is a ſufficient
" crime to be their king; but GOD forbid, that
" we ſhould tread in theſe ſteps, or that the
" cauſe of a lawful prince, and an injured
" people, ſhould be carried on like that of ty-
" ranny and uſurpation, and owe its ſupport to
" aſſaſſins. We ſhall copy after the patterns
" above-mentioned, and be ready with the for-
" mer of our royal anceſtors, to ſeal the cauſe
" of our country, if ſuch be the Will of Heaven,
" with our blood. But WE hope for better
" things; WE hope for the latter, to ſee our juſt
" rights, and thoſe of the church and people of
" Scotland, once more ſettled in a free and inde-
" pendent Scots PARLIAMENT, on their ancient
" foundation; to ſuch a Parliament, which WE
" will immediately call, ſhall WE intirely refer
" our and their intereſts, being ſenſible that
" theſe intereſts rightly underſtood, are always
" the ſame. Let the *Civil*, as well as *Religious*
" RIGHTS of all our ſubjects, receive a confir-
" mation in ſuch a Parliament; let Conſciences

" truly

" truly tender be indulged; let property of
" every kind be better than ever ſecured; let an
" Act of general Grace and Amneſty extinguiſh
" the faults, even of the moſt guilty; if poſſible,
" let the very remembrance of all which have
" preceded this happy moment, be utterly
" blotted out, that our ſubjects may be united
" to us, and to each other, in the ſtricteſt bonds
" of affection, as well as intereſt.

" And that nothing may be omitted, which
" is in our power to contribute to this deſirable
" end, WE do, by theſe preſents, abſolutely and
" effectually, for Us, our heirs and ſucceſſors,
" pardon, remit, and diſcharge, all crimes of
" high-treaſon, miſpriſion of treaſon, and all
" other crimes and offences whatſoever done or
" committed againſt us, or our royal Father of
" bleſſed memory, by any of our ſubjects of
" what degree or quality ſoever, who ſhall, at
" or after our landing, and before they engage
" in any action againſt Us, or our forces, from
" that time, lay hold on mercy, and return to
" that duty and allegiance they owe to Us, their
" only rightful and lawful Sovereign.

" By the joint endeavours of Us, and our Par-
" liament, urged by theſe motives, and directed
" to theſe views, WE may hope to ſee the peace
" and flouriſhing eſtate of this kingdom in a
" ſhort time reſtored; and WE ſhall be equally
" forward

" forward to concert with our Parliament ſuch
" further meaſures as may be thought neceſſary
" for leaving the ſame to future generations.

" And WE hereby require all Sheriffs of Shires,
" Stewards of Stewartries, and their deputies,
" and magiſtrates of Burghs, to publiſh this OUR
" *Declaration*, immediately after it ſhall come
" to their hands, in the uſual place and manner,
" under the pain of being proceeded againſt for
" failure thereof, and forfeiting the benefit of
" OUR general pardon.

" Given under OUR ſign-manual and privy-
" ſignet, at our court at Commercy, the
" 25th day of October, in the 15th
" year of our reign."

Firſt, You declare you have the goodneſs to be weary of depending on foreign princes, and are willing to be one yourſelf; and are further graciouſly diſpoſed to relieve from *Miſeries*, preſent which we do not feel, and you do not name, and future ones, which muſt be the conſequences of what you call an *Uſurpation*.

Secondly, That during the life of the Queen, whoſe reign you allow, was alſo an *Uſurpation*; you reſted contented, becauſe you believed ſhe would take meaſures for your enjoyment of the crown, which you think ſhe muſt know ſhe did guiltily

guiltily detain from you; and ſince a plan to which you intimate ſhe was privy, of throwing yourſelf upon the people, is defeated by her death, you are now under an horror and indignation at our preſent circumſtances and proſpect.

Thirdly, A foreign family is on the throne, and ſtrangers even to our language.

Fourthly, The adminiſtration of the government is in the hands of the worſt, to the oppreſſion of the beſt; that your ſiſter has been inſulted in her grave; a Parliament procured by unreaſonable influences; new debts contracted; new armies raiſed; Dutch forces brought in; and the acceſſion of the dutchy of Bremen to our King, is ſo inconſiderable, that it will reduce us, to appertain to what is inconſiderable.

Fifthly, We have been betrayed inſtead of being reſcued; and theſe evils wholly owing to abandoning the old Conſtitution, which many, who promoted the preſent ſettlement, you believe, did not intend.

Sixthly, You obſerve the generality are for you, and grow thankful for the ſpirit which is miraculouſly raiſed in all parts of your kingdom: You are coming to ſhare the dangers which your Scotch ſubjects groan under from the unhappy *Union*. You place before your eyes, your

your grandfather who fell, and your uncle who out-lived a price upon his head.

Seventhly, You talk in the pompous ſtyle of Mr. Secretary, when he reſolved to run for it: Let me, ſaid the pious Churchman, and heroic patriot, be a victim in *Smithfield*, for the cauſe for which I am proud to fall; and ſo got his black peruke and whiſkers ready, and went on in the ſame noble ſtyle in France; but I am going to obſervations when I am only upon the recital, and ſhould only ſay, "*Sic diſputas Do-*"*mine.*" You do not make promiſes, but uſe an Imperative; *Let* Conſciences truly tender be indulged; *Let* Property, and *Let* an Act of Grace.

Eighthly, You abſolutely pardon all faults to thoſe who ſhall come in to you at your landing, and are ready to concert with your Parliament upon all matters; and ſo very gravely you ſign from our court at Commercy, the 25th day of October, in the fifteenth year of your reign.

The firſt paragraph of this your *Declaration* is unſupported with any thing ſo much as ſpecious; for you roundly aſſert, that has been largely, and unanſwerably denied by the moſt knowing in our Conſtitution; and the practice of all mankind has been, and would not have been otherwiſe

otherwiſe than to vary their manner of ſucceſſion of princes on ſuch exigencies as that at the Revolution; and to all thoſe arguments I have added, that king James either knew you were not his ſon, and therefore took you with him, that any arguments for your being ſuppoſititious might have leſs weight in your exile; or was himſelf the primary cauſe of your fate, as you are pleaſed to call it.

In your ſecond topick you ſay, you bore with the Queen's enjoyment of your throne, becauſe you expected ſhe would contrive your ſucceſſion to it, and believe ſhe ſecretly acknowledged, in her own conſcience, your right to it. This is the moſt vile and barbarous imputation that ever was laid upon any prince either dead or living. This is ſaying, ſhe was an impoſtor to her people, and was contented to be ſo for your ſervice. It is ſaying, her religion, her oaths, and her royal ſtate, was one continued ſcene of idolatry towards GOD, and artifice towards MAN.

Your third obſervation, That the family on the throne are ſtrangers to our language, is ſcurrility; the relation between a prince and his people is not ſupported by *Converſation*, but the diſtribution of *Equity* and *Juſtice!* And the king expreſſes an "Heart truly Engliſh," when he declares the Conſtitution the rule of his government, and the integrity of his great mind has been

been evident in all his actions, ever ſince he condeſcended to make us that *Declaration*.

Your fourth topick is, That the adminiſtration is in the hands of the worſt, to the oppreſſion of the beſt. This is a quaint expreſſion your Secretary HARRY has taken from TACITUS, or ſome other writer, according to his way of enriching his ſpeech with lively expreſſions, and neglecting the improvement of his heart and ſentiments. This it was that made him a moſt excellent reviler, while he was with us; and I find he keeps it for your ſervice, to which he indeed applied it while he was here. This charge againſt the miniſters is baſe and groundleſs; for there is not one of them who has not diſtinguiſhed himſelf before he came to his preſent ſtation, by brave actions, ſeaſonable ſervice in negotiations, or laudable eloquence in aſſemblies, as well as that their birth and quality found them among the beſt of the people. I aſſure you I ſpeak this very impartially; for whether you know it or no, I fear you will not believe I am the modeſteſt man in England; I have deſired only to be in as good preferment as this cauſe found me when I firſt commenced grenadier for it, but that cannot it ſeems be, yet I forgive them for being cold friends to me, for being warm enemies to you *. And you may

* See STEELE's "Letters," vol. I. p. 139; a lamentable *Letter* of STEELE on this ſubject, to his wife. By another Letter, p. 130, it appears that he ſet up all night to prepare this Number of the TOWN-TALK.

pleaſe to tell your ſcribe HARRY, That they are diligent in the adminiſtration of public affairs, and have gone a great way in re-building the fabrick from the ruins to which he and his wicked accomplices had reduced it. You ſay, The parliament was procured by unwarrantable influences. It is confeſſed, it was not called by your authority. What elſe you mean I cannot imagine; for there was not a farthing of public money ſpent that way; and if you mean great private expence was made, you ſee people had rather throw away half their eſtates to keep you out, than part with the whole by your coming. You ſhew in your great reach in politicks in complaining, that we are running in debt, and raiſing armies. I believe you think they are both raiſed againſt you. You are offended the King has the dutchy of Bremen. You perhaps think it would be greater generoſity to take one that brings us nothing but a new religion, than a proteſtant prince like ourſelves, who is, at once, to this nation, a good and gracious prince, and a rich and powerful ally.

Your fifth complaint is, that we have been betrayed, rather than reſcued, and that you are ſo gracious to believe the ill conſequences were not intended. I do not underſtand this, it is general; and why you ſay they who made the ſettlement did not expect the ill conſequences, which

which you intimate are those of not having you our prince, is incomprehensible.

Your sixth assertion is, That there is, in the generality of the people, a spirit raised miraculously for you. It is, indeed, wonderfully, but not miraculously; for they are known by their fruit who brought forth our calamities. A ministry, that came into the service of their country engaged in a war against France and you, being resolved to raise that and bring in you, became, instead of guardians of the people, their betrayers; and with the subserviency of impudent and apostate clergymen, laid the seeds of the present confusion and rebellion. As for your mention of CHARLES the First and Second: The First lost his life, he did so indeed, in a most barbarous and unjust manner, in asserting the constitution, and illegality of the proceedings against him; which can never be your case; for all laws are against you. As to him you call Uncle, he escaped a price on his head; but it behoves you to reflect there is a greater on yours.

Your seventh paragraph evades with a specious skill any binding promises to us, and instead of making them, you say, let them be made. This trick has been already practised by many of your friends. People will make their observations, that your craft is of the same kind.

You muſt know there is a canon which directs our Clergy to pray for the King in ſuch and ſuch terms; inſtead of doing as they are bid, they bid others do it, and repeat the order inſtead of paying obedience to it; inſtead of praying themſelves, they ſay to the people, "You ſhall "pray for King GEORGE;" their BIDDING is as loyal, as your LETTING is gracious.

Your eighth common-place is a general amneſty to all that ſhall run to your colours, and help you forwards upon your arrival. After that, you and your parliament will conſider further: What we are to expect from thence give me leave to ſhow you from——But before I go to that, having caſt my eye on your date from Commercy, I muſt obſerve, that here, and in your ſtyle in the firſt paragraph, you claim France too, for which I hope you will anſwer on that ſide of the water, but I am glad to hear you act like an exaſperated man againſt his Royal Highneſs the Regent. I was going to ſhew what we were to hope from you, and a parliament of yours, by the treatment the Proteſtants had from your Pretended father, and his in Ireland. You are pleaſed to tell us, that if upon your arrival in theſe realms we ſubmit, you are diſpoſed to receive us in your equipage of ſubjects, but if not, you in parliament will proceed.

King

King James made a new conſtitution of corporations, to put in creatures of his own; the manner of election was, to ſend together with a writ for election, a letter of recommendation whom to chooſe. A parliament made in this manner ſet themſelves to root out the whole Proteſtant intereſt, by following a general Bill of Attainder againſt all abſent from their houſes, whether in arms or employment againſt him or not, with an Act of Repeal, whereby the real eſtates of all who "dwelt or ſtaid in any place "of the Three Kingdoms, which did not own "King James's power, or correſponded with any "ſuch as they term rebels, or were any ways "aiding, abetting, or aſſiſting to them from the "firſt day of Auguſt 1688, are declared to be "forfeited and veſted in his Majeſty, and that "without any office or inquiſition found thereof." By which clauſe almoſt every Proteſtant that could write in the kingdom had forfeited his eſtate; for the Packets went from London to Dublin, and back again, conſtantly from Auguſt to March, 1688; and few had friends in England, or in the North, but correſponded with them by letters, and every ſuch letter is made by this clauſe a forfeiture of eſtate. There is a book amongſt us called "The State of the Pro-"teſtants of Ireland, under the late King JAMES's "Government," which gives us the moſt lively

and faithful idea of a Popiſh Prince over a Proteſtant people.

This whole Treatiſe is a preſervative againſt Romiſh Tyranny, and effectually explains King James's direct intention to deſtroy his Proteſtant ſubjects in their perſons, religion, and eſtates.

In a word Sir, the time is come wherein it begins to be underſtood no plea in excuſe of Treaſon, that what was done was done under the adminiſtration of a Lady who was renowned for goodneſs and virtue. But you have ſaid more on this ſubject to us, than any of your friends; you carry it ſo far as to give us broad hints, that ſhe was privy to deſigns in your favour. In gratitude to her, if ſhe was, you ſhould have covered this circumſtance otherwiſe. As I have above ſhown, you out-do all who have attempted to bring her name to diſhonour; in proportion that you are above your followers, your teſtimony is a greater injury than that of any of them. It is certain there has not one man appeared a manifeſt traitor, but he took refuge under his zeal for her Majeſty. One was accuſed for betraying a town; to which he gave as immediate and direct an anſwer as ever he did in his life. The Queen, whom I ſerved, was the beſt of women and of ſovereigns. What made this the pleaſanter was, that ſhe had before her death diſcarded him, and her having turned him off

off ſeemed to turn her goodneſs, as well as judgment, againſt him. If one ſo good puniſhed him, her virtue certainly made more againſt him than for him. This Sir, was the ſtyle, this the game of croſs-purpoſes, which was uſed by all and every of your friends, as far as they have been ſurprized in their iniquities. For all which you have givn us a key; but really Sir, I cannot think this ſtep at all politick in the court of Commercy; for the name of the queen was helpful only, but as from her character ſhe was believed incapable of betraying her people and her religion; and therefore her approbation of their conduct was a cover to it. But if you ſhould bring it to paſs that ſhe ſhould be univerſally thought in the deſign, you will involve her in the guilt, and conſequently have no more advantage from her reputation to protect that conduct which ripened it to what it is.

Upon the whole Sir, under favour of the counſellors of the court of Commercy, this declaration is ſhallow and ſuperficial; it moves upon hinges, which have long been ruſty, and the prejudices are ſurmounted by facts on our ſide, againſt bare aſſertions on yours. In the infancy of this deſign, which the wiſe and diſintereſted Earl of GODOLPHIN ſaw, and ſpoke to his Queen upon her firſt intimation, that ſhe was going into meaſures different from thoſe

which had raiſed her to the ſummit of glory, on which ſhe ſtood and could ſurvey Europe in ſuſpenſe, till it knew her determinations: I ſay, upon the very firſt ſtep towards it, that memorable miniſter told his ſovereign what would neceſſarily, however ſhe was diſpoſed in it, follow from that change of her councils. To the endleſs ſorrow and indignation of all honeſt men, from that moment ſhe was exalted in words and proteſtations, but pulled down in things and facts in the court of England; cunning took the place of wiſdom; impudence of ingenuity, and ſenſuality of pleaſure; every thing that was praiſe-worthy was baniſhed and diſcountenanced, and ſome monſtrous likeneſs of it ſet up to view in the place where it uſed to appear. The ſetting-up Idols and Images for the adorable things which they ought to repreſent, from the practice and influence of the court, grew the faſhion throughout the nation, which was amuſed with words to purſue the deſtruction of what they underſtood theſe words to ſignify. Thus the word CHURCH giving naturally an alarm to be ready in the Defence of religion, and loyalty to the Queen naturally implying the love of our country, which ſhe had hitherto ſo well governed and protected; miſled the people not only to ſuffer, but promote their deſigns, who were gradually delivering up both Religion

Religion and Liberty into the hands of your worſhip. You may depend upon it, that the miraculous ſpirit, which you boaſt is raiſed for you, is no other than a miſ-guided zeal againſt you; for which reaſon, if I might adviſe, you ſhould ſtick to your kingdom of France; and therefore I cannot believe you have removed the court from Commercy, to Peterhead, or Perth.

You may be aſſured, I am not moved to the giving you this trouble, from Paſſion, Avarice, or Ambition. As to Paſſion, I muſt own I never have received greater civilities, or more frank and diſintereſted offers of kindneſs and favour, than from friends of yours now in arms, or in cuſtody for your cauſe; I wiſh them all, from my ſoul, in Heaven; and have no more perſonal provocation to be againſt any one of them, than BRUTUS had to the ſtabbing of CÆSAR. But this is a time, wherein there is no ſuch thing as a private man, but all offices of life ſhould give way to the duties we owe to the community; father, brother, ſon, and huſband, muſt be laid aſide, to exert the citizen and the ſubject.

As to Avarice and Ambition, when the neceſſities of life are provided, and conſcious honour well guarded, I can contemn both. To ſhew you that it is ſo, I can very frankly recommend you to the Cardinal's Cap, which the provincial

of the Jeſuits propoſes to have offered me, to avoid further unanſwerable objections to the craft of traders in religion. Believe me, you would find a great difference in ſitting at your eaſe inflaming others, and in being yourſelf, as they have now made you, a mock hero in a HOLY WAR; a tool to ſacerdotal Pride and LUXURY.

In hopes you will make the beſt uſe of this advice, I take leave of your eminence.

R. S.

*** To all SHOP-KEEPERS.

AT the Printing-houſe in Bow-church-yard, Cheapſide, (by J. CLUER &c) Apothecaries, Perfumers, Grocers, Confectioners, Diſtillers, Druggiſts, &c. may be furniſhed with all ſorts of TITLES, (for glaſſes, pots, drawers, &c.) in the largeſt character ever ſeen in England, in various ſorts of curious borders, or labels of divers colours. Done after an entire new method, known to no others; and ſold at reaſonable rates. At the ſame place alſo, the Prints of ſhop-keepers ſigns, Tobacco-marks, Prints for marking goods, &c. are nicely cut, or engraved on wood or copper.

*** "The Preſton Priſoners to the Ladies about Court and Town, "by way of comfort from C. W. to W. T. Printed for J. Roberts in "Warwick-Lane. Where may be had, from W. T. in the Marſhalſea, "to C. W. in Newgate. Price 2d. each." Evening-Poſt, Jan. 17, 1715-16.

"From W. T. to C. W. the ſecond part, reviſed." Ibid. Feb. 21.

* "This day is publiſhed, An Ode on the Birth-day of his Royal "Highneſs the Prince of Wales. To the Princeſs. To the Earl of Clare, "on his being created Duke of Newcaſtle. Amintor and the Nightingale. "By Mr. Welſted. Printed for Jacob Tonſon." Poſtman, Jan. 14, 1715-16.

Friday.

N° VI. Friday, January 20, 1715-16.

MADAM,

IT had been impoſſible that any man ſhould be able to furniſh out every week what would be worth reading, even as a trifle, if you did not take it for granted, that when I called my epiſtle to you TOWN-TALK, I meant, that you who are converſant in books, ſhould eſteem this a packet of little reſults from diſcourſe among the men of good ſenſe, like that kind of writing which Mr. SELDEN calls his TABLE-TALK. That work flowed from a mind full of more deep and weighty knowledge; and though light in itſelf was ſuch a kind of levity, as did no diſhonour to the well-governed ſpirit from whence it was uttered, your own temper is apt enough to make excuſes for what comes from your friends; and therefore I will not dwell upon apologies for the ſtyle and looſe dreſs of theſe Papers, which I know you underſtand to be the effect of time ſtolen from the conſtant buſineſs

buſineſs and diverſion which a man may turn himſelf to in this town, amidſt the active and pleaſant ſcenes of LONDON and WESTMINSTER. To this conſideration you will add, that the relation of whatever paſſes in this agreeable place, is pleaſing to you at a diſtance, where you are confined to live under the ſatiety of one ſet of company. But the ſeverity of the ſeaſon has kept me within doors, where I have paſſed my time in reading ſhort performances of antient and modern writers; and it has been no ſmall diverſion to me, to contemplate the noble Geniuſes that have been in the world, and to celebrate in my own imagination ſuch as promiſe to make a figure in ages to come. The late account which I gave you of the CENSORIUM, let you underſtand, that Poetry and Muſick were the arts which were to contribute to the diverſions of that Society; the ODE I have ſent you in honour of the Prince's birth-day *, by Mr. WELSTED, printed for TONSON, was written at the requeſt of the undertaker, and has produced a piece of muſick worthy the poetry, of which I incloſe to you the Score. The language of it approaches that ſimplicity and purity of expreſſion, which has made the natural and eaſy thoughts of the antients on ſubjects of

* See p. 88. Laſt *Advertiſement*, of WELSTED's *Ode*.

meer mirth and gaiety, and *writ* as if only for the diverſion of the preſent hour, deſcend to our times; there is a peculiar ſkill in the contrivance of the ODE I am commending, and the feſtivity and the greatneſs of the occaſion are at once happily preſerved. That may ſeem to a common eye, of common merit, which to diſcerners is the more extraordinary for appearing ſo familiar. Men of taſte will extremely applaud the art of making the ear tingle with pleaſure, at the ſame time that the heart exults with triumph, as in the ODE, where a Prince is celebrated for his glorious behaviour, at an inſtant of danger, to entertain thoſe, whoſe minds overflow with gratitude and pleaſure, that it is for their ſakes he was expoſed to it. The audience feel a noble delight, at once enjoying the benefit, and expreſſing their ſenſe of it in the united power of muſick and poetry. This, Madam, is making pleaſure ſubſervient to noble ends, and reducing delight to contribute to what it has generally obſtructed, a paſſion for things praiſe-worthy.

I have already told you, That the CENSORIUM was to be to the THEATRE, what an *Under-plot* is to a *Play**; and though theatrical repreſentations may have but an inconſiderable regard from

* See N° IV. p. 54.

thoſe

thoſe who do not throughly conſider them, it muſt be confeſſed, that a ſkilful and honeſt direction of the powers of Arts and Sciences which ſo ſtrongly affect the ſenſes, and engage the underſtanding, would be a great ſervice to the Commonwealth.

I have obtained a copy of a Patent given for that purpoſe, and publiſh it at once to advertiſe thoſe thoſe who act under it, That all good and reaſonable men expect ſome ſudden amendment in the public ſhows, and to acquaint the town with what is incumbent upon the patentee, in hopes of their concurrence in what may be thought neceſſary for the improvement of their pleaſures. This Patent is not drawn up with ſuch tautologies as are uſually thought neceſſary, and poſſibly may pleaſe you from its elegance. It is as follows.

"GEORGE, by the Grace of God, of Great-
" Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender
" of the Faith, &c. To all to whom theſe pre-
" ſents ſhall come, greeting. We having in-
" formed ourſelves, ſince our acceſſion to our
" Crown, of the ſtate of our *Theatre*; and find-
" ing, to our ſorrow, that through the neglect
" and ill management thereof, the true and only
" end of its inſtitution is greatly perverted; and
" inſtead of exhibiting ſuch repreſentations of
" human

" human life as may tend to the encouragement
" and honour of Religion and Virtue, and dif-
" countenancing Vice, The English STAGE hath
" been the complaint of the ſober, intelligent,
" and religious part of our people; and, by in-
" decent and immodeſt expreſſions, by prophane
" alluſion to Holy Scripture, by abuſive and
" ſcurrilous repreſentations of the clergy, and
" by the ſucceſs and applauſe beſtowed on
" libertine characters, it hath given great and
" inſufferable ſcandal to Religion and good
" Manners: and in the repreſentations of civil
" government, care has not been taken to create
" in the minds of our good ſubjects, juſt and
" dutiful idea's of the power and authority of
" magiſtrates, as well to preſerve a due ſenſe of
" the rights of our people; and through many
" other abuſes, that which under a wiſe direc-
" tion, and due regulation, would be uſeful and
" honourable, has proved, and if not reformed,
" will continue a reproach to government, and
" diſhonour to religion. And it being our pious
" reſolution, which with the bleſſing of Al-
" mighty God we will ſteadily purſue through
" the whole courſe of our reign, not only by
" our own example, but by all other means
" poſſible to promote the honour of Religion
" and Virtue; and on every occaſion, to en-
" courage good literature, and to endeavour the

" eſtabliſhment of good-manners and diſcipline
" among all our loving ſubjects, in all ſtations
" and ranks of men whatſoever, theſe being, in
" our opinion, the proper means to render our
" kingdoms happy and flouriſhing. We have
" ſeriouſly revolved on the premiſes, and being
" well ſatisfied of the ability and good diſpo-
" ſition of our truſty and well beloved RICHARD
" STEELE, eſq; for the promoting theſe our
" royal purpoſes, not only from his public ſer-
" vices to Religion and Virtue, but his ſteady
" adherence to the true intereſt of his country.
" Know ye, That We, out of our ſpecial grace,
" certain knowledge, and meer motion, and in
" conſideration of the good and faithful ſervices,
" which the ſaid RICHARD STEELE hath done
" us, and doth intend to do, for the future,
" hath given and granted, and by theſe preſents,
" for us and our heirs and ſucceſſor, do give
" and grant unto him, the ſaid RICHARD
" STEELE, his executors, adminiſtrators, and
" aſſigns, for and during the term of his na-
" tural life, and for and during the full end and
" term of three years, to be computed next and
" immediately after the deceaſe of him the ſaid
" RICHARD STEELE, full power, licence, and
" authority, to gather together, form, entertain,
" govern, privilege, and keep a company of
" Comedians for our ſervice, to exerciſe and
" act

'act Tragedies, Plays, Operas, and other per-
'formances of the ſtage, within the houſe in
'DRURY-LANE, wherein the ſame are now ex-
'erciſed, by virtue of a licence granted by Us
'to him the ſaid RICHARD STEELE, ROBERT
'WILKS, COLLEY CIBBER, THOMAS DOGGET,
'and BARTON BOOTH, or within any other
'houſe built or to be built, where he or they
'can beſt be fitted for that purpoſe, within
'our cities of LONDON and WESTMINSTER, or
'the ſuburbs thereof; ſuch houſe or houſes ſo
'to be built (if occaſion ſhall require) to be
'aſſigned, allotted out by the ſurveyor of our
'works for a THEATRE or *Play-houſe*, with ne-
'ceſſary tiring and retiring rooms, and other
'places convenient, of ſuch extent and di-
'menſion as the ſaid RICHARD STEELE, his
'executors, adminiſtrators, or aſſigns, ſhall
'think fitting; wherein Tragedies, Comedies,
'Plays, Operas, Muſick Scenes, and all other
'entertainments of the ſtage whatſoever may
'be ſhewed and preſented. Which ſaid com-
'pany ſhall be our ſervants, and be ſtyled THE
'ROYAL COMPANY OF COMEDIANS, and ſhall
'conſiſt of ſuch numbers as the ſaid RICHARD
'STEELE, his executors, adminiſtrators, or
'aſſigns, ſhall, from time to time, think meet.
'And we do hereby, for Us, our heirs and ſuc-
'ceſſors, grant unto the ſaid RICHARD STEELE,

'his

" his executors, adminiſtrators, or aſſigns, full " power, licence, and authority, to permit ſuch " perſons, at and during the pleaſure of the ſaid " RICHARD STEELE, his executors, Admini- " ſtrators, or aſſigns, from time, to time to act " plays and entertainments of the ſtage of all " ſorts, peaceably and quietly, without the im- " peachment or impediment of any perſon or " perſons whatſoever, for the honeſt recreation " of ſuch as ſhall deſire to ſee the ſame, never- " theleſs under the regulations herein after-men- " tioned, and ſuch other as the ſaid RICHARD " STEELE, from time to time, in his diſcretion, " ſhall find reaſonable and neceſſary for our " ſervice. And We do, for Ourſelves, Our " heirs, and ſucceſſors, further grant to him the " ſaid RICHARD STEELE, his executors, admi- " niſtrators, and aſſigns as aforeſaid, that it ſhall " and may be lawful to and for the ſaid RI- " CHARD STEELE, his executors, adminiſtra- " tors, and aſſigns, to take and receive, of " ſuch our ſubjects as ſhall reſort to ſee or hear " any ſuch plays, ſcenes, and entertainments " whatſoever, ſuch ſum or ſums of money as " either have accuſtomably been given and " taken in the like kind, or as ſhall be thought " reaſonable by him or them in regard of the " great expences of ſcenes, muſick, and ſuch " new decorations as have not been formerly

" uſed.

" uſed. And further, for Us, Our heirs and " ſucceſſors, We do hereby give and grant unto " the ſaid RICHARD STEELE, his executors, " adminiſtrators, and aſſigns, full power to " make ſuch allowances out of that which he " ſhall ſo receive by the acting of plays and " entertainments of the ſtage, as aforeſaid, to " the actors and other perſons employed in act- " ing, repreſenting, or in any quality whatſo- " ſoever about the ſaid theatre, as he or they ſhall " think fit. And that the ſaid company ſhall " be under the ſole government and authority " of the ſaid RICHARD STEELE, his executors, " adminiſtrators, or aſſigns; and all ſcandalous " and mutinous perſons ſhall, from time to time, " by him and them be ejected and diſabled " from playing in she ſaid Theatre. And for " the better attaining Our royal purpoſes in this " behalf, We have thought fit hereby to de- " clare, that henceforth no repreſentations be " admitted on the ſtage by virtue, or under " colour, of theſe Our letters patents, whereby the " Chriſtian Religion in general, or the Church " of England, may in any manner ſuffer re- " proach, ſtrictly inhibiting every degree of " abuſe or miſrepreſentation of ſacred characters, " tending to expoſe religion itſelf, and to bring " it into contempt; and that no ſuch character " be otherwiſe introduced, or placed in other

" light, than ſuch as may inhance the juſt
" eſteem of thoſe who truly anſwer the end of
" their ſacred function. We further enjoyn the
" ſtricteſt regard to ſuch repreſentations, as any
" way concern civil policy, or the conſtitution
" of Our government, that theſe may con-
" tribute to the ſupport of Our ſacred autho-
" rity, and the preſervation of order and good
" government. And it being our royal deſire,
" that for the future, Our Theatre may be in-
" ſtrumental to the promotion of Virtue, and
" inſtructive to Human Life, We do hereby
" command and enjoyn, that no new Play, or
" any old or revived Play, be acted under the
" authority hereby granted, containing any
" paſſages or expreſſions offenſive to piety and
" good-manners, until the ſame be corrected
" and purged by the ſaid Governor, from all
" ſuch offenſive and ſcandalous paſſages and ex-
" preſſions. And theſe Our letters patents, or
" the inrolment thereof, ſhall be in all things
" good and effectual in the law, according to
" the true intent and meaning of the ſame, and
" any thing in theſe preſents contained, or any
" law, ſtatute, act, ordinance, proclamation,
" proviſion, or reſtriction, or any other matter,
" cauſe, or thing, whatſoever to the contrary, in
" any wiſe notwithſtanding. In witneſs whereof,
" We have cauſed theſe Our letters to be made
" Patent.

" Patent. Witneſs Ourſelf at Weſtminſter, the " nineteenth of January, in the firſt year of Our " reign.

" By writ of Privy Seal. COCKS."

This PATENT, Madam, is the LAW of the THEATRE; and by the rule of it, we are to expect that nothing new ſhall hereafter come upon the Stage, that may in the leaſt offend decency or good-manners. The indulgence at preſent given to what is repreſented there, is a ſufferance which it is to be hoped will be made up to the audience in future plays. If every thing that ſhall not be repreſented is not virtuous, let it at leaſt be innocent. This will bring a new audience to the houſe; and it is from the hope of entertaining thoſe who at preſent are terrified at the Theatre, that the ſharers muſt hope for their ſucceſs hereafter. This will naturally have the deſired effect, and Folly will be ridiculous without being at the ſame time ſo mixed with Vice, as to make it alſo terrible. The daughter may be agreeable and blooming, though the mother is at the ſame time diſcreet, careful, and anxious for her conduct. No neceſſary imperfections, ſuch as old age, and misfortune, ſhall be the objects of deriſion and buffoonery. The fine gentleman is not abſolutely obliged to wrong his friend in the moſt unpardonable inſtance, that of his bed;

nor is the fine lady of courſe to like him beſt, who laviſhes his youth among the abandoned of her ſex. But it is to be hoped, that men of Wit and Genius will be prevailed upon to write for the ſtage (the moſt ready occaſion for recommending themſelves to the world) who will ſcorn to be beholden to mens appetites and deſires for their applauſe; but will venture to ſtand or fall, according as they pleaſe well-informed judgement, and promote well directed paſſion.

P. S. I have been juſt now at the water-ſide, and obſerve a whole ſtreet broke in an inſtant. There has been, for ſome days, a communication with the county of SURREY, by way of Ice *, which made up the city of LONDON, WESTMINSTER, and SOUTHWARK. There has happened a good deal of difficulty upon this ac-

* "Several poor people have this laſt week been found in the ſtreets lying dead, and ſtiffened with the violence of the froſt. The Thames is now grown one ſolid rock of ice; coaches, carriers with their horſes and their waggons, have paſſed like a public road; booths for the ſale of brandy, wine, and other exhilarating liquors, have been fixed there for ſome time; but now it is made in a manner like a town, thouſands and thouſands of people croſs it, and with wonder view the mountainous heaps of water that now lie congealed into ice, notwithſtanding the reſiſtance given to the cold by the motion of the tide. On Thurſday laſt a pretty large cook's ſhop was erected there; and people went there as regularly to the ordinary, as they do in the city. Over againſt Weſtminſter, Whitehall, and White-Fryers, printing-preſſes are kept upon the ice, where many perſons have their names printed off, to tranſmit the wonders of the ſeaſon to their children. It has not much longer to continue, to equal, or even to out-do, the GREAT FROST, which is now made as it were an æra of time." Weekly Packet, Jan. 14, 1715-16.

count,

count, for all manner of crimes have been there committed by way of curiosity, to know whether they could act with the same freedom there, as on the shore. The Water-Bailiff has had a quarrel with the Bailiffs of WESTMINSTER and SOUTHWARK, about the jurisdiction on the occasion. The thaw, instead of ending the difficulty, according to the learned, will but increase it. All the GOLDSMITHS * on the Ice are thought to have acted too much upon credit, and to have hurt their character on shore. It is a great mortification to see this intermediate city disperse like a camp ordered to march, and you must take it as an emblem of all human affairs, without saying, we at best *walk on Ice.* I am, Madam,

Your most obedient humble servant.

N° 7. Friday, January 27, 1715-16.

MADAM,

YOU are at a distance from the town, and consequently are not entertained with all the prepense impertinencies which we enjoy who live in it. Those who premeditate their follies, are we Authors of Daily or Weekly Papers, who do not only gravely sit down, and take pen, ink, and paper, to communicate our crudities to our private friends, but also make the press labour to

* The Bankers were then universally so called.

ſpread our errors among the reſt of the people. I, you know, have ſo many faults, that I can pretend to no ſeverity without appearing ridiculous, but at the ſame time, pretend to ſo much candour as to like a thing well done, as well as if I had done it myſelf, and am therefore the fitteſt man to give you an abridgement of the public papers, or a comment upon them, as occaſion, or endeavour to divert you, ſhall require.

I conſtantly ſend you all that come out. You are to look upon the *Daily Courant*, in general, as a man in his every-day cloaths; but when he has any thing that is new, he wears it without giving himſelf airs; and you may receive him in it, as one that comes to viſit you out of kindneſs to you, much more than for his own ſake, or to ſet himſelf off. The *Poſt-man* is an admirable Stage-coach, and goes whether he has paſſengers or not. One cannot forbear looking in upon him; but you are ſure to ſee every thing in his vehicle in its homlieſt garb; all is dreſſed for a journey, and muffled up. You know nobody, and you ſee all faſt and tight; and the whole carriage put together with a reſpect to the profit of the undertaker, more than the pleaſure or convenience of the paſſenger.

I once before recommended to you the reading of a paper, which, if attended to, cannot

but

but at the same time that it is an entertainment, be very serviceable to the publick *. This Paper comes out in the midst of the confusion and animosity, which are fomented by pamphlets and other loose papers, like a man of sense in a multitude, whose appearance among them suppresses their noise, and gains him an authority to be heard with attention for their common service. In this view give me leave to repeat to you the first paragraph of his last Paper †.

'One may venture to affirm, that all honest and 'disinterested Britons, of what party soever, if 'they understand one another, are of the same 'opinion in points of government; and that 'the gross of the people, who are imposed upon 'by terms which they do not comprehend, are 'WHIGS in their hearts. They are made to 'believe, that Passive Obedience and Non-Re'sistance, Unlimited Power and Indefeasible 'Right, have something of a venerable and re'ligious meaning in them; whereas in reality 'they only imply, that a king of Great Britain 'has a right to be a tyrant, and that his sub'jects are obliged in conscience to be slaves. 'Were the case truly and fairly laid before 'them, they would know, that when they make 'a profession of such principles, they renounce

* The FREEHOLDER then publishing by ADDISON. See p. 60.

† FREEHOLDER, N° X. Jan. 25, 1715-16.

'their legal claim to Liberty and Property, and 'unwarily ſubmit to what they really abhor.'

He goes on to ſhew the ill effects of abſolute power, even in a man particularly turned to devotion. You muſt know, at Mr. JOHNSON's, we have all the papers lie before us, and couſin ARTHUR, who is our reader, takes what he pleaſes off the table; and yeſterday when we were all in diſcourſe upon public affairs, caſt his eye upon AMORETT, and told her ſhe muſt entertain the company on her lute, and ſing at the ſame time the following *Song*, a production of the ſame noble Genius * I celebrated in my laſt epiſtle to you.

AMINTOR AND THE NIGHTINGALE.

A SONG *.

I.

"AS in a blowing Jaſmine bower,
"Where Envy's eye could ne'er diſcloſe 'em,
"Enjoying ages in an hour
"AMINTOR lay in CHLOE's boſom.

II.

"A Nightingale renewed her ſong
"In ſuch a ſad complaining meaſure,
"In notes at once ſo ſweet and ſtrong,
Th' enchanted grove was fill'd with pleaſure.

* LEONARD WELSTED, Eſq; See pp. 88. 90.

III. "O

III.

" O lovely Songſtreſs, ſaid the ſwain,
" Thy idle melody give over;
" To me alas, thou ſing'ſt in vain,
" To me, a panting wiſhing Lover.

IV.

" Thy ſweet complainings now diſmiſs,
" O heavenly, yet unkind intruder;
" Nor rob me of a gentler bliſs,
" To give me in its place a ruder.

V.

" When I am ſunk in CHLOE's arms,
" The ſofteſt moment Love poſſeſſes;
" E'en PHILOMEL has loſt her charms,
" And Harmony itſelf diſpleaſes.

VI.

" Bright CHLOE all my powers employs,
" And all beſides is fond deluſion:
" While ſhe alone compleats my joys,
" Variety is but confuſion."

The ſcene, the perſons, the time, and all other circumſtances, contribute to make this as proper a ſubject for a Song as could be imagined; the delicacy of the thought and phraſe, and the ſweetneſs of the numbers, heightened by a charming voice of a fine young lady, ſetting herſelf to view before her Lover, and in a mixed company, were circumſtances that conſpired to make

make the inſtant moſt exquiſitely agreeable. It was then I firſt diſcovered, that our friend ARTHUR was a ſlave to AMORETT; and a caſt of her eye, when ſhe had done ſinging, diſcovered more than bare curioſity to obſerve how well he liked her performance.—Mr. JOHNSON deſired ARTHUR to look upon the papers on the table, which were handed about. You will obſerve, ſays he, a letter there which was ſent to my hand from the author of the TATLER, as a thing he knew would pleaſe me, as having formerly been angry that it was any where ſo much as intimated that the Atheiſt was not a monſter without any companion in the whole ſpecies, who had not drowned in himſelf the gifts and ſuggeſtions of natural reaſon.——Mr. ARTHUR read the letter, naming the date of it firſt, to wit, —"Marlborough, on the Weſt coaſt of Sumatra, "Auguſt 24." The letter is as follows:

"To RICHARD STEELE, Eſq.

"SIR,

"I LEFT England juſt at the time you had "compleated your TATLERS, and left it with "the leſs regret, becauſe I thought the nobleſt "entertainment I had ever met with was at an "end; but I found myſelf very agreeably diſ-"appointed; the SPECTATOR has viſited me on "this

" this ſide the *Globe*; his converſation relieves " me from the fatigue of buſineſs; by him I am " always entertained, and often improved. The " BIBLE has the firſt place in my ſtudy, as " teaching me the whole compaſs of Duty. Mr. " LOCKE, who firſt taught me to diſtinguiſh be- " tween Words and Things, has the next place; " thoſe writings, which have taught me a more " eaſy and agreeable manner of practiſing Virtue " itſelf, are my conſtant companions: I hope the " grateful acknowledgements of an honeſt mind, " for being made wiſer and better, will not be " unacceptable to one who profeſſes doing " good.

" The SPECTATOR, N° 389. carries conviction " to any man that dares make uſe of his reaſon, " though I think you ſeem to make a con- " ceſſion to the Atheiſt of a fact, which may be " very well proved againſt him. I point at that " place where you rally him for valuing himſelf " upon the Hottentots on his ſide. I have " viſited the ſeveral quarters of the Globe, and " made ſome obſervations on Men and Things: " I lived ſome time among the Hottentots, and " do think human nature is more ſunk in them, " than in any other part of our ſpecies, except the " Atheiſt himſelf; but how contemptible ſoever " they may appear in other reſpects, they are " not ſo far abandoned as to have loſt the ſenſe

" of

" of a Deity; every new moon they aſſemble " together, and ſpend a conſiderable part of the " night in a rude worſhip, expreſſed by ſinging, " or rather ſcreaming, and dancing, after their " manner. This fact will be confirmed by all " perſons of obſervation, who have lived any " time at the Cape of Good Hope.

" I do not think the cauſe ſtands in need of " this proof; but I was willing to do ſo much " right to thoſe poor people, as to vindicate " them from a charge, which ſingle, if true, " would render them much more deſpicable " than all their preſent miſerable circumſtances " put together.

" You will not find the name of the place I " date from, in the map. Fondneſs for a ſtructure " of my own raiſing, led me to give it the moſt " illuſtrious name in hiſtory, MARLBOROUGH, " the Glory, and the Shame of Great Britain; " the Glory is his own, the Shame is——

" Sir, I am

" Your much obliged

" Marlborough, on the
" Weſt Coaſt of Sumatra,
" Aug. 24, 1714.

" humble ſervant,

" JOSEPH COLLET."

After Mr. JOHNSON had triumphed in the account of Religion among the Hottentots, he proceeded to expreſs a pleaſure, that while this

ſide

ſide of the Globe, wherein the duke of MARLBOROUGH had performed his glorious actions, was ſtupidly, and ungratefully endeavouring to ſully his great reputation, the other hemiſphere was raiſing monuments to his renown. While he was talking, Mr. ARTHUR, who was looking upon the paper that lay next to it, interrupted him with a ſmile, and ſaid, "I find the buſineſs "of Fame is in ſome meaſure the care and per- "plexity of all degrees of mankind, as well as "of captains and heroes. This epiſtle in my "hand," ſaid he, "has a new kind of adverſity "in it, the diſtreſs of being unworthily praiſed. "I will read it out," continued he, "becauſe I "have a reſpect for the man that writes it, as "well as for the novelty of its matter." So read theſe words.

"To the Author of the TOWN-TALK.

"SIR,

"IF there was any law, whereby I could be "redreſſed when a man makes uſe of my name "without my knowledge or approbation, I "ſhould not now trouble you with this Letter, "to deſire you to do me juſtice, in telling the "TOWN how much I am abuſed this way.

"Before

" Before I knew what a dealer in advertiſe-
" ments Mr. E. CURLL the Bookſeller is, and
" how far he carries his induſtry to get money,
" I was ſo eaſy as to let him ſhare with me in a
" book called FIRES IMPROVED, which I tranſ-
" lated out of French. He, in order to for-
" ward the ſale of the book, not content with
" the uſual way of advertiſing, inſerted my
" whole preface in the news-paper, giving Mr.
" SENEX the Engraver, and myſelf, ſuch un-
" reaſonable commendation in his own ſtyle, at
" the bottom of the advertiſement, as a man uſes
" when he is ſelling a thing, and calls it *the beſt*
" *in England*. I told him how I ſuffered under
" ſo much panegyrick, which muſt make all,
" that imagined me to conſent to the publiſhing
" ſuch an advertiſement, have a very whimſical
" notion of me. Well, this paſſed off, and I
" thought myſelf out of all danger of ever being
" commended again by him; but laſt week he
" began to give about another advertiſement
" in a quarter of a ſheet of paper, concerning
" the book above-mentioned. The firſt part of
" this advertiſement gave an account of my
" book, and named the workmen which I em-
" ploy in building the new chimneys for any
" body that deſires my directions in the matter *.

* " Juſt publiſhed, by Mr. DESAGULIERS, a Book, intituled, FIRES IMPROVED; being a new method of building Chimneys, ſo as to prevent

" So much of the advertiſement I knew of; but " he fills up the reſt of the paper with what " you was pleaſed to ſay of me * in your de- " ſcription of the *New Chimneys* in your TOWN- " TALK, Numb. III. calling it Sir " RICHARD " STEELE's *Account of the New Chimneys*". " Now, whether Sir RICHARD STEELE and you " are the ſame perſon, is what I have not yet " been aſſured of; neither is it my buſineſs to " enquire into it. There is yet no name put to " your Paper. I have ſatisfied Sir RICHARD " STEELE, that I had no hand in making uſe of " his name in this advertiſement; and I hope " that you will not imagine me ſo vain as to " re-print and publiſh to the world, the charac- " ter that you gave me in your Paper, when I as " little expected as deſerved it †.

vent their Smoaking; in which a ſmall Fire ſhall warm a Room better than a much larger made the common way; with the manner of alter- ing ſuch Chimneys as are already built, ſo that they ſhall perform the ſame effects. Illuſtrated with nine explanatory cuts. Printed for E. CURLL, at the Dial and Bible, againſt St. Dunſtan's Church, in Fleet-ſtreet, price 3s. At whoſe houſe may be ſeen theſe new Chimneys, made after the cheapeſt and ſimpleſt manner, according to the direction of Mr. DESAGULIERS. Performed by Thomas Hathwell and William Dream, Bricklayers." Poſtman, Jan. 14, 1715-16.

* " This Day is publiſhed, and given gratis, Sir RICHARD STEELE's account of Mr. DESAGULIERS' new-invented Chimnies. Printed for E. CURLL, &c." Poſtboy, Jan. 21, 1715-16

† " JOHN THEOPHILUS DESAGULIERS, M.A. F.R.S. and NICHOLAS DU BOIS, Architect, and one of his Majeſty's Engineers, have contrived a new Stove Grate with iron cavities behind the back of it, made in ſuch manner, that with an ordinary fire, the largeſt rooms will, in the coldeſt weather,

"To prevent any thing like this for the "future, I gave you this trouble to declare, "That where-ever my name is, or shall be "printed, with that egregious flatterer Mr. "CURLL's, either in an advertisement, or at the "title-page of a book, except that of "*Fires "Improved*," I entirely disown it. I am, Sir,

"Channel-Row, West-minster, Jan. 2, 1716.

"Your most humble "and obedient Servant,

"JOHN THEOPHILUS DESAGULIERS."

AMORETT, who is a disciple of this Philosopher, said, "she hoped, when the *Censorium*

weather, be equally warmed in all parts, and constantly supplied with fresh air, heated in the said cavities, as it comes into the room; the way proposed in a book called, "Fire Improved, &c." being only successful in small apartments. The greatest effect that such a machine can produce with the least cost, may be seen at the said Mr. Desaguliers in Channel-Row, Westminster, every Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, from 2 to 5 in the afternoon; where not only the room where the fire is (which 30 foot long, 18 wide, and 15 high) is warmed so as to make the Thermometer rise 34 degrees in 2 or 3 hours; but afterwards the hot air is conveyed into a large bedchamber, so as to give that as great a degree of heat as is desired. Another of these machines, made in a more ornamental manner, may be seen at the said Mr. Du Bois's, at Mr Seguier's, a Grocer and Perfumer in Panton-street, near Leicester-Fields, every Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, from 2 to 5 in the afternoon, during this month of March. N. B. Mr. Desaguliers and Mr. Du Bois being partners in the undertaking of these new Stove Grates, desire such as would have any of them put up in their houses next winter, to come and treat with them about it as soon as may be; for so many are already bespoke, that their workmen (which are but few) will not be able to get them ready without timely notice." Postman March 1, 1715-16.

"should

" ſhould take place, injuries of this kind would " be redreſſed by proper judges; and thoſe who " uſe words and the faculty of meer ſpeaking " and writing, as *Barbarians* do their bodily " ſtrength, will receive their juſt cenſure; and " thoſe who employ thoſe arts and ſciences, " of which they are maſters, to worthy pur- " poſes, receive the greateſt of rewards, the " approbation of the moſt polite and moſt vir- " tuous among their contemporaries;--I think," continued ſhe, turning to ARTHUR, " all we " have hitherto heard of it, and the Prologue " which opened it, give us this kind of expec- " tation from that Academy. I take the liberty, " as you are ſo familiar as to bid me ſing " before all this company, to let you know, I ex- " pect you would let us have that pretty Poem."

ARTHUR made no anſwer; but bowed, and repeated.

PROLOGUE ſpoken at the CENSORIUM on HIS MAJESTY'S BIRTH-DAY.

" FOR bright Aſſemblies, and for Taſtes refin'd,
This little Theatre was firſt deſign'd,
In which the well-pleas'd Founder hopes to treat
An audience rather elegant than great;
While Wit and Beauty ſhall the ſcene divide,
And charm each other, rang'd on either ſide.
Fearful of noiſy claps and loud huzzas,
That drown the Poem which they mean to praiſe,

He begs you calmly to eſpouſe his cauſe,
Nor fright the neighb'ring Barge-men with applauſe.

To pleaſe you here ſhall different ages ſtrive,
New Arts ſhall flouriſh, and the old revive.
To the raw tribe of Templars ſhall be ſhown
The Grecian Geſture, and the Roman Tone:
VIRGIL ſhall be the talk of every Beau,
And Ladies liſp the charms of CICERO.
The land ſhall grow polite from You, who ſit
In choſen ranks, THE CABINET OF WIT:
To You ſhall Bards their virgin-works reveal,
And hoarſe contending Orators appeal;
For your applauſe the rival Arts ſhall ſue,
And Muſick take its melody from You.

With happy omens we prepare the way,
A noble Theme, and an auſpicious Day.
O BRITAIN! grateful conſecrate to mirth
The time that gave thy great DELIVERER birth.
Long may this day through many a circling year
Diſtinguiſh'd in thy feſtivals appear!
And all thy ſons in its return delight,
Like thoſe who form this loyal Houſe to-night!"

*** Juſt puhliſhed, The Britiſh Subject's Anſwer to the Pretender's Declaration. By Sir Richard Steele. Price Two Pence. Sold by J. Roberts; J. Graves, in St. James's-Street; and A. Dodd. Where may be had, compleat Setts of the TOWN-TALKS. See p. 128.

This Day is publiſhed, The POLITICAL TATLER, No V. by JONATHAN STANDFAST, Eſq; ſhewing the reaſonableneſs and neceſſity of executing the principal of the condemned criminals. To which is added, his Majeſty's moſt gracious Speech, and the Proceedings of the Lords and Commons thereon. Printed for J. Roberts. Flying Poſt, Feb. 23, 1715-16.

Friday.

N° VIII. Friday, February 3, 1715-16.

MADAM,

I HAVE received yours, and as you command me, in regard that you read all public papers and pamphlets, give a ſummary account of the ſtate of affairs in my next; and particularly dwell upon the late peace, the ſucceſsful war before it, and the imminent danger we are in after it.

I have not time to do this in ſo careful a manner as I ought to perform any thing which is to paſs your obſervation; but the facts are ſo notorious, that they occur to every man who has lived in the world in as lively a manner as the moſt ordinary accidents of life. I ſhall treat the matter as a point of power projected by France over us and the reſt of Europe: and the events which I ſhall enumerate, will ſhow you, that we are at no time to expect from that nation much more than to live without hoſtilities.

Have patience, Madam, while I lead you round Europe, and bring you again into your

own country, and then give you the beſt intelligence I can of the perſon and parts of the Pretender.

England never had a capital and hereditary enemy but France; for though our brethren in the North of this iſland have formerly been troubleſome neighbours, it is to be obſerved, that generally they were influenced in thoſe caſes by French Councils; and that they have been far from attempting to give England any uneaſineſs when they were engaged with any foreigners but the French. The Scotch did frequently ſend them uſeful ſuccours againſt the Romans, and other invaders; and the names of the ſtateſmen, who by the Union ſecured for ever their country from any apprehenſion of danger from that ſide, but by rebellion, ought to be had in perpetual veneration.

There generally reigns a mutual and hereditary antipathy between the inhabitants of contiguous countries. All the influence of a French government in Spain has not yet been able to extinguiſh the animoſities of the ſubjects of the two crowns. The Spaniards continue to give the reproachful epithet of *Gavache* to their French neighbours, who in their turn compliment the Spaniſh Dons with that of *Franfaron*.

The

The ſubjects of Caſtile mention the Portugueze with contempt; and they again abominate the name of a Caſtilian.

To bring the caſe home, the animoſity between the Engliſh and the French, has not been leſs conſpicuous, or of ſhorter duration, than that of any of the nations above mentioned, and to ſay the truth, has been better founded; nay, I will venture to affirm, that the hiſtory and experience of the paſt and preſent ages have abundantly juſtified the truth of this propoſition. That as England has generally been ſucceſsful in war againſt the French, and has thereby become formidable and reſpected abroad, the nation has always been inglorious, and ſuffered conſiderably in its honour and reputation, when in a combination of councils and intereſts with France.

If this obſervation may, as I hope it will by all perſons verſed in our hiſtory, be allowed to be literally true, even in the times of Popiſh darkneſs and ſuperſtition, how much more reaſon have we to be upon our guard now we are convinced by fatal experience, that to all the other political reaſons that may induce our Gallic neighbours, to exert their utmoſt efforts to make Britain and Ireland provinces of France, the declared maxim of that court has been, to extinguiſh that way of worſhip, *which they call*

Hereſy, and lately entertained hopes, that their deſigns would ſoon become ſucceſsful, under the notion of aſſerting the Title of the Pretender; in which they intended ſuch a King of Britain, as the Duke of Bouillon is Prince of Sedan, which is the hereditary patrimony of his family; or as the Prince of Conti became ſovereign of the principality of Orange upon King William's death, which he was obliged to reſign to his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, as ſoon as the parliament of Paris had declared him Heir to it.

I have premiſed thus much of paſt affairs, only to enable you to form a juſter idea of our national intereſts, whereby you may be better qualified to judge with impartiality, of what may be henceforth ſaid upon that ſubject in this Paper; eſpecially with relation to the peace, about which you ſend ſo many queſtions; and upon which I will aver, in round words, that they who made it cannot alledge in their defence, either juſtice, neceſſity, or expediency to this nation.

The only way to judge impartially of the merits of the peace-makers, is to conſider how it may affect the nation in theſe three eſſentials, Religion, Liberty, and Commerce; which I think will be allowed to include all that is valuable to us as men, and as Chriſtians.

But

But to ſet this in a clear light, it will be neceſſary to take a view of the ſtate of the nation, and of its enemies and allies at theſe four remarkable periods, the Revolution in 1688, the treaty of Ryſwick in 1697, the commencement of the late war in 1702, and the fatal ceſſation of arms in 1712.

After the acceſſion of King James II. to the throne of Britain, the French believing themſelves in a condition to bring the reſt of Europe under their yoke, in 1688, made preparations to invade the empire, in order to make way for the elevation of the then Dauphin of France to the dignity of King of the Romans. This incident made the removal of King James as happy to the reſt of Europe, as neceſſary to ourſelves; and ours became the common intereſt of Chriſtendom. This revolution was attended with a war, of which though the ſucceſs was various, the end was both honourable and advantageous to England, and to every one of her allies: ſince, beſides the ſtrong and important city and dutchy of Luxemburgh, which they gave up by that peace, though it had been yielded to them by treaty for twenty years, they were not only forced to reſtore what they had taken during the war, but alſo the dutchies of Lorrain and Bar, which they had been long poſſeſſed of. They acknowledged King William's title to the Britiſh

crown; and the Engliſh trade to Spain was ſecured on the ancient foundation, to the excluſion of the French.

For the more effectual perpetuating the benefit of this trade to England, King William conſented to the treaty of partition, whereby Spain and the Weſt-Indies were to be inherited by the preſent Emperor, and the Italian dependencies of that monarchy were yielded to France; by which, though there would have been a great accretion of dominion to that crown, yet not of power or treaſure. On the contrary, the preſervation of thoſe dominions, which are not contiguous to their own, might have greatly exhauſted the kingdom, as the experience of paſt ages has juſtified; for it muſt then have been the intereſt of all the Princes and States of Italy to guard againſt the increaſe of the French power.

The death of the Spaniſh King opened a new ſcene. The French immediately ſeized the whole monarchy and its dependencies, in Europe, Africk, and America, except the Spaniſh provinces in the Low Countries.

The Duke of Bavaria, who then had the keys of Europe in his keeping, offered to come into the Grand Alliance with his brother of Cologn. The Duke of Savoy made the ſame offer by his agent; and the King of Portugal, who ſaw the

ruin

ruin of his family unavoidable by the union of France and Spain, would have been glad to have joined his forces with the reſt. What has been ſince performed under much more diſadvantageous circumſtances, gives ground to conjecture how eaſy a war would have been upon that foot, and how ſpeedy the concluſion. The expectations of all Europe waited the deciſion of the Parliament of England; but inſtead of giving a ſubſidy to enable the King to reſent the perfidious violation of ſolemn and ſacred engagements, behold an impeachment for a treaty, under theſe diſadvantages much more valuable than that made lately at Utrecht in the wantonneſs of the confederate power, and after a long ſeries of victories. The conſequences were, that the King of Portugal makes an alliance with France, the Duke of Savoy joins their army in perſon with all his forces, the bulwark of Europe is given up by the Elector of Bavaria, and Cologn introduces the enemy into Bonne, Huy, Liege, Keyſerſwaert, and Dinant: the Bavarian takes arms in the heart of Germany, ſeizes the Imperial cities, enflames the empire, calls in the French, and ſhakes the Emperor on his throne.

Before all theſe misfortunes happened, the Engliſh Genius once more awakes; they reſent with indignation the impoſition of a Pretender

to

to their Sovereign's Throne, by a haughty Monarch, who aſſumes the power to diſpoſe of Crowns; the people beg of their Prince a diſſolution of the Parliament then in being; the King gives his opinion for war, but dies before he can enter upon it: but as the motive of his actions was Juſtice, not Ambition, the laſt act of his life was agreeable to the conſtant tenour of it, the excluſion of a Popiſh Pretender.

The war was commenced under innumerable difficulties, but none appeared invincible to ſuch miniſters, ſuch generals, ſuch armies, and ſuch allies, as the Britiſh nation was bleſſed with on that great conjuncture. But how melancholy, Madam, is the reflection, that we cannot look back on the victories but with ſhame and infamy, when we conſider how poorly the effects of them were ſacrificed to the enemy! But to run over what is neceſſary to rehearſe, though it is a pain to do it, you muſt recollect, that one day conquered Bavaria, another recovered Germany, a third wreſts Lombardy and Naples out of the enemies hands, Catalonia coſt three weeks, Valentia revolts, Majorca and Sardinia follow their example, even Flanders ſubmits, and impregnable cities fly open. The term of *Pais Conquis*, conquered countries, begins to alter its ſignification in France; we come to attack the ancient demeſnes of the crown, our parties appear in

ſight

ſight of the monarch's palace, and the trembling Pariſians begin to talk of paying contributions, or removing their effects; when all of a ſudden, as if we had been in an inſtant convinced we had been acting a guilty part in all our enterprizes, France is reſtored to the formidable condition with which ſhe entered the war, and with ſome circumſtances more advantageous, as that ſhe had now by our conceſſion, what we took up arms to wreſt out of her hands.

By this peace, Spain and the Indies are given up to the houſe of Bourbon, and Liſle reſtored to France, as if we had been concerned for their misfortune, in being unable, without that reſtitution, to ſupply ſo effectually as they have ſince done, the Spaniſh demands of woollen manufactures; it having been computed, that there have been in that diſtrict, about ſix and twenty thouſand perſons employed that way. Many other ſtrong places are given up, and we receive in lieu of them little beſides a mock-ceſſion of Port Mahon, Gibraltar, and Annapolis, which we had already poſſeſſed ourſelves of, at a conſiderable expence of blood and treaſure.

As to the ſtate of Religion and Liberty within this iſland, as theſe are no longer ſecure, than our power of defending them is preſerved, and as it is viſible, that power muſt increaſe or diminiſh

diminiſh in proportion to our commerce, unleſs that be ſecured by the peace, it can never be ſaid to be a good one.

As for the trade to Spain, I appeal to all thoſe concerned in it, how it has been affected by the peace. There remained two other branches of our commerce, the one very profitable, the other abſolutely neceſſary; I mean our trade to Portugal, to bring home, amongſt other things, great quantities of gold for our manufactures; and that to the Baltick, for naval ſtores. The firſt was viſibly given up to France, by the ſo famous eighth and ninth articles of the treaty of Commerce; which not having taken effect, while they were projecting other methods of getting it out of our hands, the ſkill and care of his Majeſty's miniſtry, has relieved us in that circumſtance. And as to our trade to the Baltick, we ſee it is already rendered ſo impracticable by French politicians at the Swediſh court, and French privateers under Swediſh colours, that his Majeſty is forced to be at a vaſt expence in ſending thither a royal ſquadron, to protect his ſubjects by force of arms, in the enjoyment of thoſe rights, which they are entitled to by the law of nations.

Here Madam, you have a ſhort and ſummary account of that peace, which has broken all the bands of Commerce and Alliance in Europe,

and

and expoſed our country, which had the moſt glorious poſt of leading in the war, to the reproach of uſing that ſituation to no other purpoſe, but overbearing the allies in all their reaſonable demands; and in concert with the enemy, betraying or reſigning the intereſts of their confederates, without inſiſting upon the leaſt advantage even to themſelves, but what they alſo treacherouſly and ſecretly gave up to France, as in the notorious inſtance of the demolition of Dunkirk.

The iniquity of theſe men has ſullied our reputation abroad, in ſo great a degree, that foreigners imagine our folly or inconſtancy to be ſuch, that without even accommodating the bait they lay before us, to our paſſions or our intereſts, any thing preſented to our view will become the object of our zeal, and need nothing to make it acceptable, but being new. It were not otherwiſe poſſible for any neighbouring power to form to itſelf any ſanguine expectations from favouring the Pretender. As you ſeem to have a curioſity to know ſomething of this perſon's private character, you are to underſtand, that he has never, in his whole life, or upon any incident of it, been known to have ſaid or done what might intimate him to have the leaſt genius for the arts of war or peace, buſineſs or converſation, for becoming the pleaſures

pleaſures of an affluent condition, or ſupporting the inconveniences of a diſtreſſed one. The bare capacity of appearing in a room, and acquitting himſelf in the uſual geſtures of civility, is the utmoſt that he has arrived at, even in an exerciſed fortune, which always ſtrikes out the qualities of body and mind, where nature has beſtowed the leaſt diſpoſition towards them. This inaptitude is too notorious to have left a nation the moſt diſpoſed of all others to find ſomething to commend in thoſe with whom they have to do, the leaſt room for reporting any advantageous circumſtance of this remarkable perſon, whom they have ſo long deſigned for our monarch. You are not from hence to expect, that this dulneſs and inactivity would render him leſs dangerous in power; for there is no condition of human life above *Idiotiſm*, which is not capable of ſuperſtition. Where this is infuſed, a weak mind will exerciſe all imaginable tyrannies and cruelties, and, at the ſame time, flatter itſelf with the idea of conſcious virtue and zeal for the nobleſt of all motives, religion. It is impoſſible for ſuch a perſon to extricate himſelf from prejudice, ſo as to conſider a man of a different faith from himſelf in the ſame degree of virtue, according to his reſpective tenet; he will naturally lay a ſtreſs upon the ſenſible ceremonies and inſtitutions

tions of men, which he can underſtand, and have no regard to the true notions of Virtue and Piety, which he has not capacity to comprehend. There is certain intelligence, that this turn of his has already given great offence and ſcandal to the churches of *Scoon* and *Perth*; and it is well known, that an eminent Divine of the Church of *England*, and another of *Scotland*, notwithſtanding their merit of perjury and treaſon for his ſake, were eſteemed too heterodox to ſay grace at his table. What can be expected from a Bigot, that cannot bear ſo indifferent a thing, as what is an act of meer natural religion, the giving Thanks for benefits received, when it is not by one inſtituted in his own way? But it ſeems England, in the eye of our neighbour, is to be allured without any of thoſe popular endowments which attract the reſt of the world, and neither our eyes nor our ears are to be gratified, or our underſtanding informed with any thing to tranſport us, in order to make us come into a rebellion.

I have given ſome account of the talents of the Pretender; as to his perſon we have no other diſtinction but that he is tall and alive. There is no air in his motion, ſenſe in his diſcourſe, or dignity in his aſpect. The ſtate of his whole affair is, that a people who have received

no

no injury, are in rebellion in behalf of one to whom empire would be no kindneſs.

I hope therefore, you will lay aſide all fears for a great and glorious people, fighting in defence of all that is dear to them, againſt an undiſciplined multitude, and an *Indolent Invader*. The Rebels are exaſperated by no injuries, and their prince animated by no ſentiments of glory: Till ſtupidity can form, or giddineſs execute great deſigns, you are ſafe from the Pretender and his followers. I am, Madam,

Your moſt humble ſervant.

*** Juſt publiſhed, A Pamphlet, intituled, "*The Tea Table*," N° I. to be continued once a fortnight, Price 3d. Sold by J. Baker. St. James's-Poſt, Feb. 6, 1715-16. This Paper was by Sir R. STEELE.

Yeſterday was publiſhed, the 2d Edition of the Tea Table, No. I. &c. And next Thurſday will be publiſhed No II. Ibid. Feb. 10.

No. III. was advertiſed March 2; but no farther Numbers appear.

On the 21ſt of January, 1715-16, J. ROBERTS began to publiſh a new Weekly Paper, called, "The Proteſtant Packet;" in which was included, an article under the head of HOME-NEWS and TOWN-TALK." In that Paper alſo STEELE was doubtleſs an aſſiſtant. It was not long continued: I have ſeen three numbers only.

*** Juſt publiſhed, A Letter to the Right Worſhipful Sir R. S. concerning his Remarks on the Pretender's Declaration. Price 3d. Poſtboy, Feb. 2, 1715-16. See p. 114.

This day is publiſhed, A Vindication of Sir RICHARD STEELE, againſt a Pamphlet, intituled, A Letter to the Right Worſhipful Sir R. S. &c. Price 4d. Evening Poſt, Feb. 18, 1715-16.

Juſt publiſhed, the Pretender's Declaration tranſpoſed, by Mr. ASGILL. Sold by R. Burleigh, in Amen Corner; of whom may be had his other Tracts againſt the Pretender, and a defence of the Title of King GEORGE and his family.

Nancy Roe—d's Letter to a Member of the Beef-Stake Club, in Vindication of certain Ladies, calumniated in the Freeholder of March 9th. In the ſtyle of a certain Knight. Printed for J. Roberts, Price 3d. St. James's Poſt, March 24, 1715-16.

Monday,

N° 9. Monday, February 13, 1715-16.

MADAM,

MY laſt ended with ſome account of the PRETENDER, whom I then deſcribed with the new and uncommon character, and ſuch as indeed one could not believe to be in human nature, that of an *indolent* INVADER. But the advices which repreſent him in new incidents, with which we were not then acquainted, confirm me in the opinion, that he is the moſt burthenſome part of the baggage of his own army, and is the tool of other mens ambition, who labour to place him in a condition which he has no ſuitable impulſe to contend for, or genius to enjoy. It is a circumſtance which never before happened amongſt men, that inſtead of being headed or inflamed by the perſon, conduct, or valour of him whom an army would promote to empire, they ſuffer all the fatigues of war, and ſubject themſelves to all the penalties of Law, for one, who comes into their camp like a Spy, and goes out like a Deſerter. The preſent report is, that after having lived ſome days like a proſcribed man in the kingdom he calls his own, he has, after being once pre-

vented from doing it, actually made his escape from that body of men who took up arms in his cause. It is observable that he did not, in any part of his behaviour, act like a man determined to conquer, or to die; but in a mock-council, in which only he had any appearance of royalty, at *Scoon*, he mistook his part so much, or was so little able to act it, that he took up the time which should have been spent in thanking those about him for their present service, and exhorting them to future undertakings, in poor lamentation of himself, and his unhappy circumstances. You are a lady of the first understanding and good breeding; and I should be loth to be understood by you, to bring a railing accusation against an unhappy man, deluded into an opinion of a title, which be he who he will, or whose son he will, I think and know he has not. But I say all this to shew you that the whole is one continued absurdity, that as the rebellion was entered into without provocation from injuries, so it was also undertaken without any expectation, or reasonable hope of popular favour towards him who was to be exalted by it. I deferred writing to you upon his subject, or that of his followers, till I could, according to your request, give you a further account of him and them, by telling you what passed with relation to those noblemen who were taken at Preston.

Preſton. It is not for me to give you a narrative of the tranſactions in that High Court of Parliament, wherein the exerciſe of Royalty itſelf was, in a kind, veſted in the Lord-High Steward *, who indeed performed it with a certain air and meekneſs of majeſty, which well repreſented that merciful PRINCE, whoſe power was then in his hands, and could be exceeded only by what appeared in the countenance of that very PRINCE then preſent †. There is ſo great and ſo noble a pleaſure, though mixed with inquietude, in the exerciſe of pity, that I heartily wiſhed you there, to ſee the Legiſlature of England in the act of juſtice and compaſſion; but as I am to lay every thing before you which I take notice of here in the moſt lively manner I can, you are to ſuppoſe Weſtminſter-Hall in a kind, amphitheatrically diſpoſed. The Lord High Steward placed under a canopy of ſtate, ſurrounded by the *Regalia*, carried by proper officers; Garter King at Arms at his right, and the Black Rod at his left; the Peers of Great-Britain in their robes facing towards him in the area of the hall; on his right hand, by a rail dividing them from that court, were ſeated the Commons of Great-Britain, in aſcending rows behind each other; over-againſt them, on his left, divided alſo from the

* Lord Chancellor Cowper.

† The King and the Prince of Wales were both preſent, in the box prepared for the Royal Family.

Houſe of Lords, were diſpoſed on like aſcents people of the firſt quality of both ſexes, which filled and compleated the ſolemnity of the appearance. When ſilence was thrice proclaimed, the Lieutenant of the Tower was commanded to bring forth his priſoners; the Gentleman Gaoler accordingly bearing the point of his axe from the offenders, marched before them, ſo as to place himſelf on the left-hand of him of firſt quality when they ſtood at the bar; to wit, the Earl of DERWENTWATER on his right, next to him the Lord WIDDRINGTON, to him the Earl of NITHSDALE, to him the Earl CARNWARTH, to him the Viſcount KENMURE, to him the Lord NAIRN; and this unhappy rank was cloſed on the right by the Deputy Lieutenant of the Tower. I ſhould have told you that there was a ſtructure particularly appointed on the left of the priſoners, for the accommodation of the Managers of the Houſe of Commons, in caſe any thing material ſhould be offered, to which it might lie upon them to reply. You muſt form to yourſelf, how every heart would beat, during the awful ſilence and ſuſpence of ſo many perſons aſſembled to hear nothing but a ſentence of death pronounced againſt ſuch a number of Peers, who ſtood now diſabled and unarmed, beſeeching mercy, one by one, and acknowledging they deſerved it not. Their quality, change of condition, the vigour of their days, and

and the preſent inability to offend further, pleaded very ſtrongly to a good-natured and generous people, who are quick to anger, but ſlow to revenge. The youth of one *, the equanimity of another, the plain honeſty in the countenance of a third, the pathetic ſimplicity and ſorrow of a fourth, and nothing but what was to be pitied in a fifth, the ſixth expreſſing only deſpair, jointly and ſeverally moved the heart in behalf of each and all of them. But when they had all ſaid what they could to excite pity, and frankly, after being aſked in direct words, acknowledged they had nothing to ſay in arreſt of judgment; the Lord High Steward, though he felt as much of it as any man in the aſſembly, abated a vicious compaſſion in a full anſwer to all that had been ſaid in their behalf, and in concluſion, with a voice and air of as deep and indiſſembled ſorrow as they were in upon whom he pronounced it, uttered the fatal ſentence. I incloſe to you the ſpeech itſelf †, and will not ſo far tranſgreſs upon your judgement, as to think it needs being commended to you.

I muſt paſs therefore to things of lower conſideration, and acquaint you, that I ſhall ſoon ſend you what you have ſo long wiſhed for, a new Comedy, written with wit, humour, good ſenſe, good breeding, and knowledge of the

* Earl of DERWENTWATER. See p. 142.

† See this at length, in p. 142. & ſeqq.

world. It was delivered by the Author to the Governor of the Royal Company of Comedians, under the ſeal of ſecrecy as to the name of its Writer*; for it ſeems, though it is thus excellent, the ſpirit of it is too fine, and the characters drawn with too much delicacy, to be attended to by an audience, who require violence and extravagance to awaken them to delight. The whole is like a Tale told by a well-bred gentleman, who pleaſes you in every part of it, but neglects to make you laugh in any. I ſhould rather ſay, that as ridiculous as many parts of this Play are, they are ridiculous only to polite people; and the Author is loth to truſt his reputation in doing a thing, which he might have left alone, to the hazard of a giddy multitude; and therefore hopes, from the endeavours of the gentleman to whom he delivered his Play on the firſt days of its appearance, to be tried by his peers in a jury or ſelect audience of ſenſible men and women.

I could hardly forbear beginning this Epiſtle with letting you know, that we have had lately a Maſquerade, where your humble ſervant made one; and the advantage of having been at it has more and more convinced me of my old maxim, That the intereſt of ſociety has been

* "The Drummer," the Comedy here alluded to, was *publiſhed* by STEELE. See his Epiſtolary Correſpondence, vol. II. p. 448.

all

all along leſſened by the falſe notions of ſullen men, who rob it of the beſt kind of vehicle, well regulated pleaſure. When people of an affluent fortune, who think fit to regale and pleaſe their friends, without being troubled with the thanks, ceremonies, and civilities of ſuch a public benefice, find a way to be gueſts at their own table, and indulge a noble diſpoſition by obliging in *maſquerade*; I ſay, when people who are able are thus inclined, and take proper meaſures for ſecuring an aſſembly who underſtand decency and breeding, what can be a more pleaſing and elegant entertainment than to ſee a crowd of ſuch delighted, at one's own expence, without the painful and fulſome returns of compliments and adulations?

I was never more taken with ARTHUR's behaviour than this night, when I perceived he had diſcovered AMORETT in the habit of a Shepherdeſs. It had been natural for a leſs ſkilful Lover to have ſurpriſed his miſtreſs on ſuch an occaſion, and immediately to have addreſſed her with thoſe briſk approaches of familiarity, which men, who are not reſtrained by the ſenſe that they are allowed liberty under a man of quality's roof, becauſe they are ſuppoſed to know how to uſe it, would be apt to make uſe of. But here ARTHUR's peculiar right underſtanding prevailed, and he had the art to make his diſcretion ſubſervient to the intereſts of his Love. Inſtead

of ſhewing by the leaſt circumſtance his knowledge of AMORETT, he applied himſelf to a pretty milkmaid, who ſat by her, and ſeemed to be of her company; ARTHUR, who knows as exactly as any man all the windings and turns of female converſation, and can lead the diſcourſe to what point he pleaſes, decoyed the fair *Ruſtic*, after having interrupted him with a thouſand agreeable pertneſſes, into a ſettled attention and deſire to hear him entertain her with an account of his own paſſion. You know, Madam, there is in your couſin's way of talk, a touch of breeding ſo reſpectful and inſinuating, that the vaineſt of your ſex can hear him with pleaſure, even while he is not making love to themſelves; I have known a very gigler expreſs an air of ſatisfaction when he has been ſpeaking plain ſenſe. In this particular incident, his manner of expreſſing to one he did not love the charms of one he did, the deſcriptions he gave of his own flame, and of AMORETT's beauty, had ſomething ſo touching, that one could not but wiſh him ſucceſs. The nymph herſelf whom he thus artfully made his confidante could not forbear ſaying, "ſhe was of opinion, the Lady who had engaged his affections, muſt needs be happy in ſuch a Lover." His Miſtreſs's curioſity, you will conclude, was ſufficiently alarmed by a concurrence of all theſe tender circumſtances; but

but however, ſhe diſſembled ſo genteely, and behaved herſelf with ſuch a careleſſneſs and ſeeming inadvertency of what paſſed, as left ARTHUR in no ſmall embarraſſment. He reſolved to explain with her upon this ſubject, and accordingly, the next day, wrote her the following Letter:

"MADAM,

"I AM afflicted to the laſt degree with the "reflection, that either you did not know me "laſt night, or that you were capable with ſo "much eaſe to diſſemble that knowledge. You "could not imagine yourſelf concealed from "me. Could you think the neck, or hand, or "arm of AMORETT did not diſtinguiſh you "from all others, as much as thoſe eyes, and "that countenance? Had you been veiled from "head to foot, would it not have been AMO-"RETT that moved? Did not you hear me ſay, "the watchman that paſſed by was a man of "quality? And do you think the air and mien "which I approve in my own ſex can impreſs "ſo ſtrong an image as not to be drowned by "the difference of rags and robes, and ſhe I "love be hid in a dreſs quite as beautiful as "her uſual one, and only more humble? Believe "me, AMORETT, that dreſs could no more diſ-"guiſe you from my eyes, than that fortune "could eſtrange you from my heart. The

"female

" female world marched by me in diſheveled " treſſes, flowing garbs, and gaudy gems. What " did their gems, their treſſes, and their robes, " but make me ſay, How much better would " thoſe become AMORETT! And ſhould I not " know AMORETT, who in the ſimplicity of " plain habit and meer neatneſs, with an in- " ſolence of beauty, knew ſhe ſhould ſurpaſs " them all? It is enough that I let you under- " ſtand I knew you; and in return for your " being ſo obdurate or ſo careleſs as not to ac- " knowledge me, take notice that I have re- " venged myſelf of you, and given imagination " ſo much liberty as to fancy I ruffled a kiſs " from you when a country girl, and carried " this to a poetical licence of writing the fol- " lowing SONG on the imaginary occaſion.

" BY what power did ſhe enſlave me!
" Pretty maid, the kiſs ſhe gave me!
" On her lips the ruby glow'd,
" And the breath of violets blow'd;
" Swell'd with moiſt and balmy heat;
" All was honey, melting ſweet:
" Boundleſs joys e'en now I prove,
" For I drank a world of Love:
" Wanton, madding with the bliſs,
" Still I taſte the charming kiſs.

" Forgive the freedom of, Madam, your moſt " obedient and moſt devoted humble ſervant."

Now

Now I have given you a recital of Poetry, you muſt let this Paper conclude with ſome which has been before recommended to you *, deſigned to be performed at the CENSORIUM on the Prince's Birth-day.

ODE for the PRINCE'S BIRTH-DAY †.

WHEN CHURCHILL on Onarda's plain
The powers of Europe led;
When ſlaughter ſtalk'd on heaps of ſlain,
And Virtue greatly bled:

'Twas then the blooming Prince, ordain'd
By Fate to Britain's Throne,
In arms immortal honours gain'd,
And won the Victor's crown.

His glittering ſteel he ſhook, and vow'd
By CAROLINA's eyes,
To ſtain it in his Rival's blood,
And gain the deſtin'd prize.

"Britons, aſſert your Country's cauſe,"
The youthful Warrior cried;
"You fight for Freedom and for Laws:
"For thoſe your Fathers died."

Then ruſhing on, in crowds of foes,
Through tracts of Death he ran;
His courage with his danger grows:
Hero as ſoon as Man!

* See pp. 88. 90.

† By LEONARD WELSTED, Eſq. See p. 88.

Whilſt

Whilſt he each dreadful ſcene review'd,
His Rival hid his head:
Whilſt he with graceful wrath purſued,
The pale Impoſtor fled.

Behold Britannia's promis'd Heir!
Behold him cover'd o'er
With all the glorious duſt of war,
And ſtain'd with comely gore!

While martial ſounds his ear delight,
And rouze him as they ſwell;
Amidſt the fury of the fight
His wounded courſer fell.

In that diſtreſs'd and dubious hour,
All cover'd with deſpair,
Alarm'd was England's Guardian Power,
And ſav'd his royal care.

"Victorious Youth, to greatneſs born,"
The ſmiling Genius ſaid!
"Oh! fated Empire to adorn,
"And Albion's fame to ſpread!

"Thy ſhining virtues to reward,
"And bleſs a martial land,
"A diadem thy brow ſhall guard,
"A ſceptre grace thy hand.

"Let the glad day, which gave Thee light,
"The ſymphonies prolong:
"While Poets thy great deeds recite,
"And Oudenard's the ſong.

"To

" To Harmony and Fame that day
" Shall ever ſacred be;
" And every Muſe devote a lay
" To Oudenard and Thee."

I am, &c.

N. B. This Paper, for the future, will be publiſhed every Wedneſday * after this next enſuing.

* " On Monday laſt was publiſhed, The TOWN-TALK, N° IX. containing Remarks on the late Proceedings in Weſtminſter-Hall, the Maſquerades, New Comedy, &c. and will be publiſhed for the future every Wedneſday. Sold by J. Roberts, &c. Where may be had compleat Setts, and likewiſe the Britiſh Subjects anſwer to the Pretender's Declaration." Poſtman, Feb. 18, 1715-16.

STEELE ſeems to have been trying what day the publication would ſuit beſt. He began N° I. on a *Saturday*; N° II. on a *Friday*; N° IX. on a *Monday*. There is reaſon to believe, however, that THIS was the laſt Number of the TOWN-TALK that appeared. On the 6th of March, 1715-16, was advertiſed " CHIT-CHAT, inſtead of TOWN-TALK, addreſſed to the ſame Lady in the Country, and concluding with an Argument concerning the Executed Lords, N° I. Sold by J. Roberts, &c. Price 3d." The SECOND and THIRD Numbers were alſo advertiſed on the 10th and 16th of March. But neither of theſe, though diligently ſought after, has yet been found by the writer of this note, who is very deſirous to furniſh the Publick with a complete edition of ALL STEELE's *Writings*.

*** " This day is publiſhed, A Letter to a Member, concerning the condemned Lords, in vindication of Gentlemen calumniated in the St. James's Poſt, Friday March 2, Price 3d. Sold by J. Roberts, &c. Where may be had, complete Setts of the TOWN-TALK." Poſtman March 6, 1715-16.

" This day is publiſhed, CHIT-CHAT, N° II. in a Letter to a Lady in the Country, wherein is contained the Argument concerning ſaving or executing the Rebels. By HUMPHRY PHILROY." Ibid. March 10.

" This day is publiſhed, CHIT CHAT, in a Letter to a Lady in the Country, N° III. wherein ſome Obſervations are made of the preſent Treatment of Sir RICHARD STEELE. To be publiſhed every Friday." St. James's Poſt, March 16, 1715-16.

The

The SPEECH of Lord Chancellor COWPER, when he paſſed Sentence on the Six Condemned Lords, Feb. 9, 1715-16.

"JAMES Earl of DERWENTWATER, WILLIAM Lord WIDDRINGTON, WILLIAM Earl of NITHSDALE, ROBERT Earl of CARNWATH, WILLIAM Viſcount KENMURE, and WILLIAM Lord NAIRN; you ſtand impeached of High Treaſon by the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament aſſembled; which Treaſon is contained in the Articles that have been lately read. To this you have ſeverally pleaded guilty, and are thereby convicted. What ſay you, JAMES Earl of DERWENTWATER, why judgement ſhould not paſs upon you according to law?"

Hereupon the Earl of DERWENTWATER * ſpoke as follows:

* JAMES RATCLIFFE Earl of DERWENTWATER was only in his 29th year. He was the grandſon of an Actreſs [Mrs. MARY DAVIES], taken off the Stage by King CHARLES II. by whom that King had a daughter, MARY TUDOR; who marrying FRANCIS Lord RATCLIFFE, eldeſt ſon of the firſt Earl of DERWENTWATER, was the mother of our ill-fated young Peer. His grandfather Sir Francis Ratcliffe, of Keſwick in Cumberland, baronet, was created Earl of Derwentwater, Viſcount Radcliffe and Langley, 1687-8; and died in 1696. The ſecond Earl died in 1705. The unfortunate hero of our tale married Anna Maria, daughter of Sir John Webb, baronet; and was executed, agreeably to his ſentence, on Tower-hill, Feb. 24, 1715-16.

I only

"I only beg leave of my noble Peers to repeat a few circumſtances mentioned in my anſwer to the Articles of impeachment exhibited againſt me by the honourable Houſe of Commons.

"But the terrors of your Lordſhips' juſt ſentence, which at once deprive me of my life and eſtate, and compleat the misfortunes of my wife and innocent children, are ſo heavy upon my mind, together with my inexperience, that I am ſcarce able to alledge what may extenuate my offence, if any thing can do it. I have confeſſed myſelf guilty; but, my Lords, that guilt was raſhly incurred, without any premeditation, as I hope your Lordſhips will be convinced by one particular. I beg leave to obſerve, I was wholly unprovided with men, horſes, arms, and other neceſſaries, which, in my ſituation, I could not have wanted, had I been privy to any formed deſign. As my offence was ſudden, ſo my ſubmiſſion was early. When his Majeſty's Generals thought fit to demand hoſtages for ſecuring the terms of the ceſſation, I voluntarily offered myſelf, without which the ceſſation might poſſibly have proved ineffectual. And whilſt I continued hoſtage, the great character of his Majeſty's clemency, and the repeated encouragement I had to hope for mercy, by ſurrendering to it,

ſoon determined me, and I accordingly declared my reſolution to remain with his Majeſty's forces, and from that time ſubmitted myſelf to his goodneſs, on which I ſtill entirely depend. I humbly hope to obtain the mediation of your Lordſhips and of the honourable Houſe of Commons in my behalf; ſolemnly proteſting my future conduct ſhall ſhew me not altogether unworthy your generous compaſſion for my life, which is all I can beg of his Majeſty."

Then the Lord High Steward ſaid, "My Lord DERWENTWATER, your Lordſhip's voice hath not been perfectly heard to this end of the court; therefore I aſk you whether you have pleaded any thing in arreſt of judgement?" To which the Lord DERWENTWATER anſwered, "No, my Lords."

After this, the Lord High Steward ſaid, "Lord WIDDRINGTON *, what have you to ſay for yourſelf, why judgement ſhould not paſs upon you according to law?" To which the Lord WIDDRINGTON anſwered as follows:

* WILLIAM Lord WIDDRINGTON, deſcended from an honourable family of that name in Northumberland, was the grandſon of the firſt baron of that name, who for his ſignal ſervices was raiſed to the Peerage in 1643 by King Charles I. and loſt his life near Wigan, in fighting for King Charles II. He was ſucceeded in the title by his ſon WILLIAM; and he by WILLIAM the laſt Lord, who fortunately eſcaped with his life, but was attainted.

"My

"My Lords, I have abandoned all manner of defence ever ſince I firſt ſurrendered myſelf to his Majeſty's royal clemency; and only now beg leave to repeat to your Lordſhips ſome circumſtances of my unhappy caſe, which I have already ſet forth in my anſwer.

"Your Lordſhips ſee before you an unfortunate man, who, after leading a private and retired life for many years, has, by one raſh and inconſiderate action, expoſed himſelf and his family to the greateſt calamities and miſery, and is now upon the point of receiving the ſevereſt ſentence directed by any of our Engliſh laws.

"I do proteſt to your Lordſhips, that I was never privy to any concerted meaſures againſt his majeſty's royal perſon, or the eſtabliſhed government. As to the inſurrection in Northumberland, I only heard of it accidentally the night before it happened; and being ſoon after informed that all my neighbours and acquaintance had met in arms, a crowd of confuſed and miſtaken notions hurried me at once into a precipitate reſolution of joining them; a reſolution, which, I muſt own, I could never ſince calmly reflect upon, without part of that confuſion I find myſelf under in the public acknowledgement of ſo much raſhneſs and folly. After thus plunging out of my depth, as unprepared for ſuch an enterprize as the action was

unpremeditated, I cannot, for my own particular, upon the ſtricteſt recollection, charge myſelf with any violation of the properties of my fellow-ſubjects; but, on the contrary, I always endeavoured to encourage humanity and moderation during the whole courſe of our miſerable expedition; and, in order to make the beſt atoment in my power for the great fault I had been guilty of, I can juſtly ſay, that I was in no ſmall degree inſtrumental in procuring a ſubmiſſion to his Majeſty. But, my Lords, however willing or deſirous either I or any others might be to put a ſpeedy end to thoſe unfortunate troubles, ſelf-preſervation, the firſt and moſt powerful law of nature, would have rendered the propoſal vain and fruitleſs, had not the officers who commanded the royal forces given us hopes of mercy, and aſſured us we ſubmitted to a Prince of the greateſt clemency in the world. Theſe hopes, and this aſſurance, anſwered the ſtrongeſt objections, overcame all remaining difficulties, and gave the finiſhing ſtroke to a general ſurrender, whereby the further effuſion of Britiſh blood was prevented, and a perfect tranquillity reſtored to theſe parts of his Majeſty's dominions.

" My Lords, as this my firſt attempt was raſh and unpremeditated, as I always uſed and promoted moderation and humanity towards my fellow-

fellow-subjects, and as I did not obstinately persist in my fault, but was the first who proposed an early submission to his Majesty; I humbly hope my unhappy case, and the deplorable condition of my unfortunate children, already deprived of their tender mother, will raise a generous compassion in your Lordships and the honourable House of Commons; and I most earnestly entreat both your Lordships and that honourable House to become intercessors with his Majesty in my behalf, for that mercy which I was encouraged to hope for when I first surrendered, and which I have ever since with the utmost confidence relied upon.

"I have only to add my most solemn assurance, before this august Assembly, that no future time shall ever find me wanting in the most inviolable duty and gratitude to that merciful Prince who gives me my life, and restores a father to five miserable and distressed orphans; and I shall always retain the highest esteem and veneration for your Lordships and the honourable House of Commons."

Hereupon the Lord High Steward said, "Lord WIDDRINGTON, for greater certainty, I ask your Lordship whether you have pleaded any thing in arrest of judgement?" To which the Lord WIDDRINGTON answered, "No, my Lords, I have not."

Then the Lord High Steward ſaid, "WILLIAM Earl of NITHSDALE *, what hath your Lordſhip to ſay for yourſelf, why judgement ſhould not paſs upon you according to law?" Whereupon the Earl of NITHSDALE ſpoke as follows:

"My Lords, I have confeſſed myſelf guilty, relying only on his Majeſty's mercy; and I beg leave to aſſure your Lordſhips, I was never privy to any plot or deſign againſt his Majeſty's perſon or government, and was unprovided with any neceſſaries for ſuch a purpoſe; but raſhly and inconſiderately, with only four of my ſervants, joined thoſe who appeared in arms in my neighbourhood, and was one of the laſt who went unto them.

"At Preſton, my Lords, his Majeſty's generals gave great hopes and encouragement to believe that ſurrendering to his Majeſty's mercy was the ready way to obtain it; with repeated aſſurances that his Majeſty was a Prince of the greateſt clemency.

"Upon thoſe hopes and aſſurances I ſubmitted myſelf, and ſtill entirely depend on his Majeſty's

* WILLIAM MAXWELL, Earl of NITHSDALE, Lord MAXWELL and HERRIS, was ordered for execution, Feb. 24; but was fortunate enough to eſcape out of the Tower, diſguiſed in a riding-hood and in womens apparel. He afterward joined the Pretender at Avignon; and died in 1744, an exile at Rome. He married WINIFRED, youngeſt daughter of WILLIAM Marquis of POWIS; by whom he left a ſon WILLIAM Lord MAXWELL, who died Auguſt 15, 1776.

goodneſs,

goodneſs, earneſtly beſeeching your Lordſhips and the honourable Houſe of Commons to intercede with his Majeſty on my behalf.

"And I ſolemnly promiſe your Lordſhips, I ſhall, during the remainder of my life, pay the utmoſt duty and gratitude to his moſt gracious Majeſty, and the higheſt veneration and reſpect to your Lordſhips and the honourable Houſe of Commons."

Hereupon the Lord High Steward ſaid, "I muſt alſo aſk your Lordſhip (your Lordſhip's voice not reaching thus far), whether you have pleaded any thing in arreſt of judgement?" To which the Earl of NITHSDALE anſwering, "No, my Lords, I have not."

The Lord High Steward went on, and ſaid, "Lord CARNWATH *, what have you to ſay for yourſelf why judgement ſhould not paſs upon you according to law?" Upon which the Lord CARNWATH ſpoke as follows:

"My Lords, I ſhall not trouble this great aſſembly with a repetition of what I ſaid when formerly before your Lordſhips and his Majeſty's council.

"I hope theſe noble Lords entertain that favourable opinion of my ſincere dealing, to be-

* ROBERT DALZIEL, ſixth Earl of CARNWATH. He was attainted; but had both life and his eſtates remitted to him; and died in 1737, aged about 84. He had been four times married.

believe that want of experience and knowledge of the laws was the great inducement of engaging in this fatal and unhappy undertaking.

"The only thing I can hope or wish for is his Majesty's mercy. He has the character of a merciful Prince; should it please him to think me a proper object for it (though I must confess myself a very unworthy one), all I can say, my Lords, is, that the remainder of my life shall convince his Majesty, and all the world, of my true penitence and gratitude.

"My Lords, I am yet an unworthy member of this great body, the Peerage, now expecting your Lordships judgement as to life or death. Should it be for life, my demeanour and carriage for the future will be such as none of your Lordships shall be ashamed of having shewed me compassion; but, should it be for death, God's will be done; to my last hour I shall pray for the nation's and your Lordships' prosperity; having this comfort in my present distress, that your Lordships are my judges at this tribunal; and yet a greater comfort have I, that I am soon to appear before a greater, where I cannot despair of finding mercy and forgiveness for all my sins.

"I beg God Almighty's pardon for them; I have already asked his Majesty's, and I do it now; and do humbly beg leave, once more, and

perhaps

perhaps the laſt occaſion that ever I ſhall have, to deſire that your Grace, this Noble Houſe, and the honourable Commons of Great Britain, who are now here, would intercede with his Majeſty for me.

"I take my leave of your Lordſhips, and wiſh you all happineſs."

Being aſked by the Lord High Steward, whether his Lordſhip had any thing to offer in arreſt of judgement, he ſaid, "No, my Lords."

Then the Lord High Steward having aſked the Lord Viſcount KENMURE *, what he had to ſay for himſelf why judgement ſhould not paſs upon him according to law; his Lordſhip ſpoke thus:

"My Lords, I am truly ſenſible of my crime, and want words to expreſs my repentance. God knows I never had any perſonal prejudice againſt his Majeſty, nor was I ever acceſſary to any previous deſign againſt him. I humbly beg my noble Peers and the honourable Houſe of Commons to intercede with the King for mercy to me, that I may live to ſhew myſelf the dutifulleſt of his ſubjects, and to be the means to keep my wife and four ſmall children from ſtarving; the thoughts of which, with my

* WILLIAM GORDON, Viſcount KENMURE, and Baron of LOCHINVER, was executed Feb. 24, at the age of 62. His eſtate, but not the title, was reſtored to his ſon ROBERT.

crime, makes me the moſt unfortunate of all gentlemen."

Hereupon the Lord High Steward ſaid, "My Lord, your voice not being heard to this end of the court, I would know whether, in what you have ſaid, you have offered any thing in arreſt of judgement?" To which his Lordſhip anſwering, "No, my Lords."

The Lord High Steward ſaid, Lord NAIRN *, what have you to ſay for yourſelf why judgement ſhould not paſs upon you according to law?" To which the Lord NAIRN anſwered as follows:

"I am very ſenſible how unfit I am to plead my own cauſe before your Grace (my Lord High Steward), and this auguſt Aſſembly; and therefore, though I could ſay much to extenuate the crime for which I ſtand impeached, yet I chuſe rather to lay my whole ſtreſs upon the King's mercy, for which he is ſo renowned, and which I was put in hopes of at the time of my ſurrender. In conſideration whereof, and in compaſſion to an afflicted wife and twelve children, I ſtill hope, by the mediation of your Grace, my noble Lords, and the ho-

* WILLIAM Lord NAIRN, brother to the Duke of ATHOL; was condemned; but received ſeveral ſucceſſive reſpites till 1717, when he was included in the act of grace, and had his eſtate, but not his title, reſtored. He died in 1725, aged more than 80. His ſon, the titular Lord, engaging in the next rebellion, was killed at Culloden, April 16, 1746.

nourable

nourable Houſe of Commons, I may obtain it; ſolemnly proteſting, that in gratitude for ſo ſignal a deliverance I will, to the end of my life, remain a dutiful and obedient ſubject to his moſt gracious and ſacred Majeſty King George."

The Lord High Steward having aſked him, whether his Lordſhip had offered any thing in arreſt of judgement; the Lord NAIRN anſwered, "No, my Lords."

And then, the Serjeant at arms having made proclamation for Silence, the Lord High Steward ſpoke in the manner following:

"JAMES Earl of DERWENTWATER, WILLIAM Lord WIDDRINGTON, WILLIAM Earl of NITHSDALE, ROBERT Earl of CARNWARTH, WILLIAM Viſcount KENMURE, WILLIAM Lord NAIRN!

"You ſtand impeached, by the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament aſſembled, of High Treaſon, in traiterouſly imagining and compaſſing the death of his moſt Sacred Majeſty, and in conſpiring, for that end, to levy a bloody and deſtructive war againſt his Majeſty, in order to depoſe and murder him; and in levying war accordingly, and proclaiming a PRETENDER to his crown to be King of theſe realms.

"Which impeachment, though one of your Lordſhips,

Lordſhips, in the introduction to his plea, ſuppoſes to be out of the ordinary and common courſe of the law and juſtice, is yet as much a courſe of proceeding according to the common law as any other whatſoever.

"If you had been indicted, the indictment muſt have been removed and brought before the Houſe of Lords (the Parliament ſitting). In that caſe you had (it is true) been accuſed only by the Grand Jury of one county; in the preſent, the whole body of the Commons of Great Britain, by their repreſentatives, are your accuſers.

"And this circumſtance is very obſervable (to exclude all poſſible ſuppoſition of hardſhip as to the method of proceeding againſt you) that, however all great aſſemblies amongſt us are apt to differ on other points, you were impeached by the unanimous opinion of the Houſe of Commons (not one contradicting).

"They found themſelves, it ſeems, ſo much concerned in the preſervation of his moſt truly Sacred Majeſty, and the Proteſtant Succeſſion (the very life and ſoul of theſe kingdoms), that they could not omit the firſt opportunity of taking their proper part, in order to ſo ſignal and neceſſary an act of his Majeſty's juſtice.

"And thus the whole body politic of this free kingdom has in a manner roſe up in its own defence,

defence, for the punishment of those crimes, which it was rightly apprehended had a direct tendency to the everlasting dissolution of it.

"To this impeachment you have severally pleaded, and acknowledged yourselves guilty of the High Treason therein contained.

"Your pleas are accompanied with some variety of matter, to mitigate your offences, and to obtain mercy.

"Part of which (as some of the circumstances said to have attended your surrender, seeming to be offered rather as arguments only for mercy, than any thing in mitigation of your preceding guilt) is not proper for me to take notice of.

"But as to the other part, which is meant to extenuate the crimes of which you are convicted, it is fit I should take this occasion to make some observations to your Lordships upon it; to the end that the judgement to be given against you may clearly appear to be just and righteous, as well as legal; and that you may not remain under any fatal error in respect of a greater Judicature, by reflecting with less horror and remorse on the guilt you have contracted than it really deserves.

"It is alledged by some of your Lordships, that you engaged in this Rebellion without previous concert or deliberation, and without suitable preparations of men, horses, and arms.

"If

"If this ſhould be ſuppoſed true, on ſome of your Lordſhips averring it; I deſire you to conſider, that as it exempts you from the circumſtance of contriving this Treaſon, ſo it very much aggravates your guilt in that part you have undoubtedly borne in the execution of it.

"For it ſhews, that your inclinations to rebel were ſo well known (which could only be from a continued ſeries of your words and actions), that the contrivers of that horrid deſign depended upon you, and therein judged rightly. That your zeal to engage in this Treaſon was ſo ſtrong, as to carry you into it on the leaſt warning, and the very firſt invitation. That you would not excuſe yourſelves by want of preparation, as you might have done; and that, rather than not have a ſhare in the Rebellion, you would plunge yourſelves into it, almoſt naked and unprovided for ſuch an enterprize. In ſhort, that your men, horſes, and arms, were not ſo well prepared as they might and would have been on longer warning, but your minds were.

"It is alledged alſo, as an extenuation of your crime, that no cruel or harſh action (I ſuppoſe is meant no rapine or plunder, or worſe) has been committed by you.

"This may in part only be true. But then your Lordſhips will at the ſame time conſider, that the laying waſte a tract of land bears but a little

little proportion in point of guilt, compared with the crime of which you ſtand convicted, an open attempt to deſtroy the beſt of Kings, to ruin the whole fabrick, and raze the very foundation of a government, the beſt ſuited of any in the world to perfect the happineſs, and ſupport the dignity, of human nature. The former offence cauſes but a miſchief that is ſoon recovered, and is uſually pretty much confined; the latter, had it ſucceeded, muſt have brought a laſting and univerſal deſtruction on the whole kingdom.

"Beſides, much of this was owing to accidents; your march was ſo haſty, partly to avoid the King's troops, and partly from a vain hope to ſtir up inſurrections in all the counties you paſſed through, that you had not time to ſpread devaſtation, without deviating from your main, and, as I have obſerved, much worſe deſign.

"Farther: It is very ſurprizing that any concerned in this rebellion ſhould lay their engaging in it on the government's doing a neceſſary and uſual act in like caſes, for its preſervation, the giving orders to confine ſuch as were moſt likely to join in that treaſon. It is hard to believe that any one ſhould rebel, merely to avoid being reſtrained from rebelling; or that a gentle confinement would not much better have ſuited a crazy ſtate of health, than the fa-

tigues

fatigues and inconveniencies of ſuch long and haſty marches in the depth of winter.

"Your Lordſhips riſing in arms, therefore, has much more juſtified the prudence and fitneſs of thoſe orders, than thoſe orders will any wiſe ſerve to mitigate your treaſon. Alas! happy had it been for all your Lordſhips had you fallen under ſo indulgent a reſtraint.

"When your Lordſhips ſhall in good earneſt apply yourſelves to think impartially on your caſe, ſurely you will not yourſelves believe that it is poſſible, in the nature of the thing, to be engaged, and continue ſo long engaged, in ſuch a difficult and laborious enterprize through raſhneſs, ſurpriſe, or inadvertency; or that, had the attack at Preſton been leſs ſudden (and conſequently the rebels better prepared to receive it), your Lordſhips had been reduced the ſooner, and with leſs, if not without any bloodſhed.

"No, my Lords, theſe, and ſuch like, are artful colourings, proceeding from minds filled with expectation of continuing in this world; and not from ſuch as are preparing for their defence before a tribunal where the thoughts of the heart, and the true ſprings and cauſes of actions, muſt be laid open.

"And now, my Lords, having thus removed ſome falſe colours you have uſed, to aſſiſt you yet further in that neceſſary work of thinking

on

on your great offence as you ought, I proceed to touch upon ſeveral circumſtances that ſeem greatly to aggravate their crime, and which will deſerve your moſt ſerious conſideration.

"The divine virtues (it is one of your Lordſhips own epithets) which all the world, as well as your Lordſhips, acknowledge to be in his Majeſty, and which you now lay claim to, ought certainly to have with-held your hands from endeavouring to depoſe, to deſtroy, to murder that moſt excellent Prince; ſo the impeachment ſpeaks, and ſo the law conſtrues your actions; and this is not only true in the notion of law, but almoſt always ſo in deed and reality. It is a trite, but very true remark, that there are but few hours between Kings being reduced under the power of pretenders to their crown, and their graves. Had you ſucceeded, his Majeſty's caſe would, I fear, have hardly been an exception to that general rule, ſince it is highly improbable that flight ſhould have ſaved any of that illuſtrious and valiant family.

"It is a farther aggravation of your crime, that his Majeſty, whom your Lordſhips would have dethroned, affected not the crown by force, or by the arts of ambition, but ſucceeded peaceably and legally to it; and, on the deceaſe of her late Majeſty without iſſue, became undoubtedly the next, in courſe of deſcent, capable of ſuc-

ceeding to the Crown, by the law and conſtitution of this kingdom; as it ſtood declared ſome years before, the crown was expreſſly limited to the Houſe of Hanover. This right was acknowledged, and the deſcent of the crown limited or confirmed accordingly, by the whole Legiſlature, in two ſucceſſive reigns; and more than once in the latter, which your Lordſhips' accomplices are very far from allowing would bias the nation to that ſide.

"How could it then enter into the heart of men, to think that private perſons might with a good conſcience endeavour to ſubvert ſuch a ſettlement by running to tumultuary arms, and by intoxicating the dregs of the people with contradictory opinions, and groundleſs ſlanders, or that God's Providence would ever proſper ſuch wicked, ſuch ruinous attempts?

"Eſpecially if in the next place it be conſidered, that the moſt fertile inventions on the ſide of the Rebellion have not been able to aſſign the leaſt ſhadow of a grievance as the cauſe of it. To ſuch poor ſhifts have they been reduced on this head, that, for want of better colours, it has been objected, in a ſolemn manner, by your Lordſhips' aſſociates, to his Majeſty's government, that his people do not enjoy the fruits of peace, as our neighbours have done ſince the laſt war. Thus they firſt rob us of our peace,

and

and then upbraid us that we have it not. It is a monſtrous Rebellion that can find no fault with the Government it invades, but what is the effect of the Rebellion itſelf.

"Your Lordſhips will likewiſe do well to conſider what an additional burthen your Treaſon has made neceſſary on the people of this kingdom, who wanted, and were about to enjoy, ſome reſpite. To this end it is well known, that all new or increaſe of taxes were the laſt year carefully avoided; and his Majeſty was contented to have no more forces than were juſt ſufficient to attend his perſon, and ſhut the gates of a few garriſons.

"But what his Majeſty thus did for the eaſe and quiet of his people, you moſt ungratefully turned to his diſadvantage, by taking encouragement from thence to endanger his and his kingdom's ſafety, and to bring oppreſſion on your fellow-ſubjects.

"Your Lordſhips obſerve, I avoid expatiating on the miſeries of a Civil War, a very large and copious ſubject. I ſhall but barely ſuggeſt to you on that head, that, whatever thoſe calamities may happen to be in the preſent caſe, all who are at any time, or in any place, partakers in the Rebellion (eſpecially perſons of figure and diſtinction) are in ſome degree reſponſible for them; and therefore your Lordſhips muſt not hold yourſelves quite clear from the

guilt of thoſe barbarities which have been lately committed by ſuch as are engaged in the ſame Treaſon with you, and not yet perfectly reduced, in burning the habitations of their countrymen, and thereby expoſing many thouſands to cold and hunger in this rigorous ſeaſon.

"I muſt be ſo juſt to ſuch of your Lordſhips as profeſs the Religion of the Church of Rome, that you had one temptation, and that a great one, to engage you in this treaſon, which the others had not; in that it was evident, ſucceſs on your part muſt for ever have eſtabliſhed Popery in this kingdom, and that probably you could never have again ſo fair an opportunity.

"But then, good God! how muſt thoſe Proteſtants be covered with confuſion, who entered into the ſame meaſures, without ſo much as capitulating for their Religion (that ever I could find from any examination I have ſeen or heard), or ſo much as requiring, much leſs obtaining, a frail promiſe that it ſhould be preſerved, or even tolerated.

"It is my duty to exhort your Lordſhips thus to think of the aggravations as well as the mitigations (if there be any) of your offences; and if I could have the leaſt hopes that the prejudices of habit and education would not be too ſtrong for the moſt earneſt and charitable entreaties, I would beg you not to rely any longer on thoſe directors

directors of your conſciences, by whoſe conduct you have very probably been led into this miſerable condition; but that your Lordſhips would be aſſiſted by ſome of thoſe pious and learned Divines of the Church of England, who have conſtantly bore that infallible mark of ſincere Chriſtians, univerſal charity.

"And now, my Lords, nothing remains, but that I pronounce upon you (and ſorry I am that it falls to my lot to do it) that terrible ſentence of the law, which muſt be the ſame that is uſually given againſt the meaneſt offender in the like kind.

"The moſt ignominious and painful parts of it are uſually remitted, by the grace of the Crown, to perſons of your quality; but the law in this caſe, being deaf to all diſtinctions of perſons, requires I ſhould pronounce, and accordingly it is adjudged by this Court,

"That you, JAMES Earl of DERWENTWATER, WILLIAM Lord WIDDRINGTON, WILLIAM Earl of NITHSDALE, ROBERT Earl of CARNWATH, WILLIAM Viſcount KENMURE, and WILLIAM Lord NAIRN, and every of you, return to the priſon of the Tower from whence you came; from thence you muſt be drawn to the place of execution; when you come there, you

must be hanged by the neck, but not till you be dead; for you muſt be cut down alive, then your bowels muſt be taken out, and burnt before your faces. Then your heads muſt be ſevered from your bodies, and your bodies divided each into four quarters; and theſe muſt be at the King's diſpoſal.

"And God Almighty be merciful to your ſouls!"

At the end of this ſpeech, the Serjeant at Arms made proclamation for ſilence; after which, the Lord High Steward ſtood up, uncovered; and declaring there was nothing more to be done by virtue of the preſent commiſſion, broke the Staff, and pronounced it diſſolved.

*** Juſt publiſhed, Remarks on Sir RICHARD STEELE's Dedication to the Pope; to which is prefixed, a Dedication to the ſaid Sir RICHARD. Poſt-boy, Feb. 25, 1715-16.

A LET-

A

LETTER TO A MEMBER *, &c.

Concerning the Condemned Lords,

In Vindication of Gentlemen calumniated in the St. James's Poſt † of Friday March the 2d.

SIR, March 6, 1715-16.

I PRESUME to make this addreſs to you in vindication of an Aſſembly, who, however they differ in other particulars, agree in the moſt profound reſpect for you: for which reaſon,

* This was addreſſed to SPENCER COMPTON, Eſq; then Speaker of the Houſe of Commons.

† While the Publick were in doubtful expectation about the fate of the ſix condemned Lords, in whoſe behalf great ſolicitations were made both with the Court and with the Members of the two Houſes of Parliament, particularly in favour of the Earl of DERWENTWATER; on Monday the 13th of February in the evening, the Counteſs of NITHSDALE and the Lord NAIRN's Lady, watching an opportunity when the King went through the apartments of his royal palace at St. James's, behind a window-curtain, without being preſented by the Lord of the Bed-chamber in waiting as uſual, on a ſudden threw themſelves at his Majeſty's feet, begging mercy for their husbands. This abrupt and irregular application could not but ſurprize and ſhock both his Majeſty and thoſe about him; and therefore proved as ineffectual as thoſe which had been made in a more becoming and artful manner: for on Thurſday

reaſon, as well as that you preſide in it, and are the repreſentative of it, I lay before you the inſolent treatment received without doors from "The St. James's Poſt," which was publiſhed on the 2d inſtant. The matter therein contained is of ſo nice a nature, that I dare not, though

or Friday following, a reſolution was taken in Council to cauſe the ſentence paſſed on the ſaid Lords to be executed; for which purpoſe the neceſſary warrants and orders were on Saturday the 18th of February, ſent both to the Lieutenant of the Tower, and to the Sheriffs of the City of London and County of Middleſex. The next morning the Counteſs of DERWENTWATER, attended by her ſiſter, and accompanied by the Dutcheſſes of CLEVELAND, BOLTON, and ſeveral other Ladies of the firſt Rank and Diſtinction, was by the Dukes of RICHMOND and St. ALBAN'S introduced into his Majeſty's Bed-chamber, where having waited till his Majeſty returned from Chapel, ſhe humbly implored his royal clemency for her unfortunate conſort; and then withdrew. This moving object, together with the powerful and numerous interceſſions that backed the Counteſs of DERWENTWATER's petition, made certainly a great impreſſion on the mind of a Prince naturally inclined to mercy; and it is the general opinion, that the Earl of DERWENTWATER had felt the effects of it, had he made an ingenuous diſcovery of the Conſpiracy, in which he had been a principal actor. It is highly probable that the Counteſs of DERWENTWATER received no favourable anſwer from the Court; for on Tueſday the 21ſt of February, her Ladyſhip, with the Conſorts of ſome other of the condemned Lords, and about twenty more Ladies of diſtinction, went to the Lobby of the Houſe of Peers, to beg their Lordſhips' interceſſion; but the Lords did not then think fit to take notice of their petitions. The next morning, the Ladies in diſtreſs, with ſtill a greater attendance than the day before, went to Weſtminſter, to petition both houſes of Parliament, wherein, by this time, not a few Members appeared inclined to mercy. Sir RICHARD STEELE among the reſt offered one of thoſe petitions, and made a long ſpeech upon that ſubject in the Houſe of Commons, and was ſeconded by Mr. STEPHEN PARGITER FULLER, (one of the repreſentatives for Petersfield, and the author of ſome Papers in the TATLER), Mr. SHIPPEN, and ſome others; but they were oppoſed by all the leading Members of the prevailing ſide; and though a great many who uſed to vote with them did

though a perſon more immediately concerned, go into the examination of it, except you will have the good-nature to allow me a ſmall *poſtulatum* which this Author has taken, to wit, that we are now in Poland; for all the diſguiſe he puts on is, to date *Sendomir* inſtead of the place in

on this critical occaſion, go over to the other party, yet a motion being made, and the queſtion put, that the Houſe do adjourn till Thurſday the firſt of March, the ſame was carried in the affirmative by a majority of ſeven voices only, that is 162 to 155. A few days after, there was publiſhed, in the St. James's-Poſt, a ſuppoſititious article from Sendomir in Poland, which was generally thought to have an eye to the preſent tranſactions in Great-Britain.

This account gave, it ſeems, great offence to ſeveral members, particularly to an ingenious gentleman who thought himſelf deſcribed and expoſed under the name of CAVALIERO RISKO CHALYBESKI; and who thereupon publiſhed a pamphlet, intituled, "A Letter to a "Member," &c. Whether that Gentleman acted on this occaſion a prudent part, either in taking to himſelf, and reſenting ſo highly, looſe and indirect inſinuations; or in reflecting ſo ſeverely as he did on ſome men in power, whom he barely ſurmiſed to have countenanced the publiſhing of the ſaid account from Poland; let others determine. Be that as it will, the Conſorts of the condemned Lords were it ſeems more ſucceſsful with the Peers than with the Commons. The Duke of RICHMOND, a near relation of the Earl of DERWENTWATER, and one of the Lords allowed by the Houſe to aſſiſt him, could not refuſe preſenting a petition in his favour; but, at the ſame time, his Grace declared that he would be againſt it. The Earl of DERBY, out of commiſeration for the numerous family of the Lord NAIRN, charged himſelf with a petition in his behalf; as other Lords did, upon the like or different motives, with other petitions. The queſtion being put, whether the ſame ſhould be received and read, there aroſe a great debate; in which the Lord Viſcount TOWNSHEND, and ſeveral other Lords, who, upon all occaſions, had given undoubted proofs of their unſhaken affection to the preſent ſettlement, maintained the negative; but the Earl of NOTTINGHAM (to their great ſurprize) declaring for the affirmative, his weight, as Preſident of the Council, drew to that ſide ſeveral well-meaning Peers; ſo that the queſtion was carried by 9 or 10 voices. Political State, vol. XI. p. 234.

which we imagined ourſelves to have been in, at the time the things he talks of were tranſacted.

You are uſed to the method of commending a man's ſelf at the beginning of what he has to ſay, and therefore will not be ſurprized that in the entrance of this epiſtle I profeſs that I have long devoted myſelf to the ſervice of my country, and am very much unconcerned at what poſſibly can be ſaid of me, but as it may impair the little ability I have to do that ſervice: and therefore, as I am in the moſt licentious manner repreſented as a malcontent, waging war with men in authority, and bribed to defend our enemies, I am obliged to ſtop, as well as I can, the courſe of ſo malicious a ſcandal. I beg of you again to remember we are in Poland; and with that allowance admit me to ſay, I gave up, both in my opinion and diſcourſe, the condemned perſons, as authors and leaders of the rebellion, and conſidered them only as leaders of the ſubmiſſion, which is all I pretended to urge in their behalf: but that the advantage of this ſubmiſſion ſhould be carried as far as it could go, I thought it highly concerned the honour of his Majeſty, and the dignity of his government.

"The priſoners ſubmitted to the King at "that time undoubtedly capable of ſhewing "them

" them mercy. When they were in cuſtody of " the Government, they were impeached by our " Aſſembly. As no one ever imagined that men " in their circumſtances were the natural ob- " jects of impeachments, or ſuch as were in- " tended by the famous act in that behalf; ſo " there was no reaſon, but the neceſſity of " affairs, which could move the Houſe to take " the proſecution out of its ordinary courſe. " Now that neceſſity is over, I thought it for " the honour of the King, that the criminals " ſhould be capable of that mercy to which they " ſubmitted; otherwiſe our enemies would have " it to ſay, that the priſoners were brought into " their preſent circumſtances by an artifice: " out of hopes of the King's mercy they ſub- " mitted; but the interpoſition of the Legi- " ſlature made them incapable of that mercy; " ſo that this circumſtance of the impeachment " hurt the prerogative in its moſt amiable in- " ſtance, that of forgiveneſs, and robbed the " ſubject of the moſt valuable effect of it, the " receiving that forgiveneſs.

" When the enemy was put to flight, and all " thoſe reaſons ceaſed, which induced the Legi- " ſlature, for the common ſafety, to make this " ſtep, which ſo much concerned the prero- " gative of the Prince, and liberty of the ſub- " ject; I thought it my duty, in regard to the

" higheſt

" higheſt and meaneſt of mankind, to act as I " did.

" Theſe, Sir, were my true motives for de- " ſiring that ſomething might be done to ex- " tricate unhappy men, who had nothing to " plead in ſtay of execution, but ſubmiſſion " and acknowledgment of their guilt. As in- " conſiderable as that plea was, it was neceſſary " and juſt that it ſhould be made before a " power capable of admitting or rejecting it; " till this was done, had the priſoners more to " offer, to merit the favour of their King and " country, they could promiſe themſelves no " good effect for that ſervice, ſince, according " to ſome mens apprehenſion, there was no " power in being legally capable of rewarding " it with Mercy.—This I thought an inter- " ruption of Government itſelf. It is for theſe " thoughts, and theſe ſentiments, that I am " publicly calumniated, and ſuffer the ſame " uſage for defending the honour of the King " and his government, now he is on the throne, " as I did for doing my part towards ſecuring " his acceſſion to it.—I have not entered into " the queſtion, Whether the priſoners are ob- " jects of mercy, or not; I have contended " only, that, if they were, or ſhould become " objects of mercy, the King might have it in

" his

"his power, as well as I am ſure it is in his "inclination, to beſtow it when deſerved.

"It would have been an endleſs reproach, to "have had ſuch an imperfection appeared in "our Government, as that there was an inſtant "wherein the power of puniſhing or pardoning "for the good of the whole was lodged no where. "As the thing ſtood in common acceptation, "the whole ſtate was under a difficulty and in-"capacity of action as it ſhould think fit for its "own good and ſafety; and it was every gentle-"man's duty to obſerve and propoſe what he "apprehended was for its ſervice in that per-"plexity.

"But the matter, from the diſcuſſion of it "among the Patricians and Plebeians, has taken "another turn; and we have ſeen *puniſhment* "*and the ſuſpenſion of it*, upon the Condemned "Lords, in this exigence of affairs, exerted by "that power in which it was always lodged by "the conſtitution of the realm; and whatever "may be the future conſtruction of an article "in a certain act, I am humbly of opinion, that "in the preſent conjuncture, if the Miniſters ſee "cauſe, they may be well juſtified by their care "of the whole, in adviſing the King to do what "he ſhall think proper with the priſoners.

"All that I aimed at is come to paſs; they "now ſtand before a power diſpoſed to receive

" and reward their future merit and paſt ſub-
" miſſion. And I am ſo far from repenting the
" part I had in this affair, that I ſhould have
" been a more unhappy man if I had done
" otherwiſe; for I ſhould have had the ſecret
" reproach in my own boſom, that, for fear of
" being miſtaken by the powerful, I had ne-
" glected my duty to the miſerable."

This, Sir, is the ſum of what I had to ſay, in order to ſtate my behaviour before my countrymen in a clear view; and whether what I have offered had weight in it or not as to the matter then before us, it ſhews another motive than that to which my behaviour is imputed in the News-paper. Have your uſual patience, and permit me to go on.

The St. James's-Poſt, ſpeaking of the " Six " Condemned Nobles," and intimating that, " by diſtributing large bribes to ſeveral Mem-" bers, their petitions were received both by the " Patricians and Plebeians," goes on upon me in theſe words: " Among the latter a doubty " Knight, called *Cavaliero Riſko Chalybeſki*, who, " over-rating his paſt ſervices to the Saxon " cauſe, has taken a diſguſt againſt the preſent " Miniſtry for not gratifying his craving am-" bition, made a ſpeech in behalf of the peti-" tioners, and exhauſted the common topicks " of clemency and mercy. But the reputation

this

" this gentleman had formerly gained by his " writings being at a very low ebb, not only " becauſe he had of late made his pen a com- " mon proſtitute, but alſo by reaſon of his own " private extravagances, at the ſame time that " he aſſumed to himſelf the character of a " Public Cenſor, no great ſtreſs was laid upon " his threadbare Oratory. On the other hand, " Monſieur *Walpeski* rightly judging, that the " new friends, the Condemned Lords appeared " to have in that Aſſembly, were procured by " the ſame methods which had been ineffectual " with himſelf, roſe up, and ſaid, He was moved " with indignation, to ſee that there ſhould be " ſuch unworthy members of that great body, " who, could, without bluſhing, open their " mouths in favour of rebels and parricides, " who, far from making the leaſt advance to- " wards deſerving favour by an ingenuous diſ- " covery of the bottom of the preſent horrid " conſpiracy, had rather aggravated their guilt, " both by their ſullen ſilence, and prevaricating " anſwers: adding, that the Count *Dorawotzki* " pretended and affirmed, that he went unpre- " pared and unawares into this Rebellion; yet, " to his certain knowledge, he had been tam- " pering with ſeveral people, to perſuade them " to riſe in favour of Staniſlaus, ſix months " before he appeared in arms.

" Monſieur *Walpeski* was ſeconded and back-
" ed by Seignior *Boſcalli*, Seignior *Leſcamerino*,
" and General *Stanoski*. The laſt ſaid, among
" other things, It was with the moſt ſenſible
" concern he obſerved, That the Rebels were
" grown more formidable ſince they were taken
" and diſmiſſed at Preſtopoli, than they were
" before; for it ſeems, they had gained advocates
" even among their proſecutors, and they had
" found means to divide an aſſembly which
" hitherto had acted with unparalleled unanimity
" and vigour for the public welfare."

It is poſſible my frankneſs in writing for a cauſe, wherein they who ſhould ſupport me traduce and villify my endeavours, may make diſregard to my own fame, for the ſake of my country, appear to the vulgar, proſtitution. But if I have made myſelf cheap, I am ſure I have not made myſelf mercenary. If I were ſo, I ſhould deſire no greater reward than the liberty for one year, which the *Poſt* has taken for this day. Give me but leave to be at Sendomir when I pleaſe, without being called to an account for what I ſay in Middleſex, and it will ſoon appear whoſe oratory is moſt threadbare; that of thoſe who have long uſed it, or thoſe who have juſt began the practice of it. Such an indulgence would be an ample fortune; and the field is large enough to bring a crop worth

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the labour of the husbandman: it would soon appear how much of a man's eloquence was owing to his station or his fortune, and how many orators there are who think themselves well heard, while they owe their being uninterrupted to the patience, not the respect, of their hearers: it would appear that the present state of eloquence in Poland is at a very low ebb, and that warming the house is only disturbing it. Orators would learn that it does not follow, that because they are in a passion, other people must be so too. Though it is finely said by a great master, that "if you would have me weep, you "must yourself be in grief."—That will not do of other passions, and particularly it would be unfortunate to be angry, to make others fight for you.

Such a licence would enable a man to shew empty creatures, that all their noise is owing to that emptiness; and a little admonition might rouse men of sense and modesty to come into debates, and exert their reason in defence of their country. For certain it is, that in Poland, at this time, the men of the best sense are dumb, and the shallowest persons in the Assembly are most talkative. Some are silent, from an oppression under the choice of a great deal to say; and others are eloquent, from an ignorance that what they say is nothing to the purpose.

I am

I am glad the *Poſt* has done ſo much juſtice to the honourable perſons he mentions in the recited paragraph. I ſhall not quarrel with him for a great opinion of mens abilities, whom I have endeavoured to celebrate before him; which I ſhould have done perhaps as fortunately as he, if I had had ſo good intelligence; for I acknowledge the beſt way of applauding ſo great Orators, is to repeat their very words. As to what he ſays of the Under Treaſurer, I congratulate the fair occaſion that great officer took to refute the falſe imputation of corruption, againſt which I had always defended him; but I can ſay, at the ſame time, that no one affronted me ſo much as with the attempt to bribe me.

This News-writer makes no difficulty of accuſing a number of the Diet (which he acknowledges to be by ſeven only leſs than all the reſt of the Aſſembly) of being enemies to the Saxon line, of being bribed for their votes, or being followers of ſuch as were. You know beſt what is to be done on ſuch an occaſion; and if ſo ſlight an artifice, as altering the ſcene by a date of place and time, ſhall ſhelter a man in belying men of honour, who are doing their duty in as nice a circumſtance as perhaps has ever happened, it will be impoſſible for thoſe who do not comply with the faſhion, right or wrong, to be able to ſhew their faces, in their ſeveral countries.

countries. As for me, I have frequently declared, that I will take all merit to conſiſt in the *regulation of the* WILL; and I will not trouble myſelf ſo much as to mention what is ſaid of me as a *Writer at low ebb*, and the like. Whoever writes muſt be liable to whatever any reader thinks fit to ſay of him; but the caſe is altered when it comes to facts within the power of the WILL, as in matters of juſtice and integrity. It is not for me to ſay how I write, or ſpeak; but it is for me to ſay, I do both *honeſtly*; and when I threw away ſome fame for letters and politeneſs, to ſerve the nobler ends of juſtice and government, I did not do it with a deſign to be as negligent of what ſhould be ſaid of me, with relation to my *Integrity* in ſupport of thoſe ends. No; wit and humour are the dreſs and ornament of the Mind; but honeſty and truth are the SOUL *itſelf*, and the difference in a man's care of his reputation for one and the other is juſt in the proportion that being robbed bears to being murdered.

I forbear ſaying any thing in reſentment againſt the Author himſelf of this paper, becauſe I think he has heretofore pointed at me in a kind way; but this inſtance gives a ſtrong ſuſpicion, that the preſent licence he takes is ſupported in ſome extraordinary manner; and I humbly conceive, that for the honour of ſo-

ciety, you will put us in ſome way to obviate this firſt inſtance of outrage in this kind, by making the Printer produce the Author, and the Author his Correſpondent, or anſwer it himſelf. I preſume, Sir, this is more particularly your charge, becauſe indeed the offence is more immediately againſt you, than any other perſon. The paper takes upon it to give an account of what paſſes in our Houſe, which is the higheſt offence without your authority, and conſequently a treſpaſs againſt your authority.

There are thoſe every day in your eye, who have no further views than doing their duty in the place where they ſtand before you. They know it their duty without vanity, diſcontent or peeviſhneſs, in all that is for the common good, to ſupport thoſe who have the honour to ſerve their country in great ſtations; but as they are always inclined to act in concert with them, they are always free to act in oppoſition to them. But, honoured Sir, I beg of you to conſider whether this equal diſpoſition is poſſible to be maintained, if men, who have no hopes of ſelf-intereſt in their actions, muſt meet with ſuch cruel and falſe repreſentations from writers, who attempt to recommend themſelves to perſons in authority, by vilifying gentlemen who think it a misfortune ever to differ from thoſe very men in authority, whoever they are, or ſhall be.

Sir,

Sir, your great good-breeding and civility in your private character, your juſtice and equanimity in your public ſtation, will ſuggeſt much more to you than I can offer in reſentment of this outrage. It would be an happy day for your country if there were more men like you in great employments, who can poſſeſs what they have with the ſame air that they had when they were aiming at it, who can be compoſed enough to think of every part of the duty of their ſtations in preference to the article of its income, and acquit themſelves to all the world before they think there is any thing due to themſelves. This Sir, I know by long experience, to be your temper and mode of action; and this will tranſmit you to poſterity with honour and reputation, with much greater advantage than you could reap from the diſtinction of your birth, and the ſuperiority of your underſtanding without this moderation. You poſſeſs the greateſt ſtation that your Country could beſtow upon you; and when that ceaſes I am ſo good a patriot as to wiſh you the greateſt that can be beſtowed by your Prince.

But though I am interrupted with the ſtrong inclination I have to do juſtice to you, you muſt not think I have done by having expreſſed civilities towards the gentleman I was writing to, as if I was at the end of my letter; for I am

called a *Doughty* KNIGHT, and muſt take notice, according to the known obligations of that order, that diſtreſſed Ladies are as little ſpared as unhappy men by this lawleſs writer; the errors in the youth of ſome, and the virtue and complacency of others, are equally the ſubject of his inſipid ſcurrility. I have only juſt mentioned this circumſtance to move your indignation; but muſt lay before you a higher offence, in a graver tone, when I ſhow you, that the paper has aſſumed a liberty of determining this queſtion on the ſide of the *Pacta Conventa*, as he calls us according to his *gibberiſh*, notwithſtanding that the preſent practice of thoſe whom he commends is againſt that notion. Speaking of the ſorrow of Dorowatſki, he preſumes to ſay as follows: "The king, who is the beſt-natured "prince in the univerſe, was touched with ſo "moving a ſight, very kindly bid her riſe, and "ſaid, "He was concerned for her juſt affliction;" but afterwards let her underſtand, that "the *Pacta Conventa*, by which his Majeſty was "called to the ſucceſſion, was an invincible Bar "to his natural clemency; and that the Diet "having made this PROSECUTION their own, "his Majeſty did not think it proper for him to "interpoſe in ſo nice an affair; which he could "not do neither, without ſhaking the very "Foundation of his Title to the Crown.

There

There must be a way found, if we would preserve any thing that is valuable, to put an end to this mixtute of arrogance, indiscretion, and ignorance. There is not much more in the letter, except personal and domestick reflections on me, which I have not observed to you, without it were worth while to take notice, that he says I exhausted upon the occasion the common topicks of clemency and mercy; which last assertion I deny with all my might; for I never talked of mercy and clemency, but for the sake of my King and country, in whose behalf I dare to say,—That to be afraid to forgive, is as low as to be afraid to punish; and that all noble geniuses in the art of government have less owed their safety to punishment and terror, than grace and magnanimity. I will trouble you no further; I am satisfied as to myself with this remonstrance, and doubt not but every gentleman of those who inclined one way, had as good arguments against the imputation of an unmanly softness, as those disposed another had against that of an inhuman cruelty. I have no authority to adventure the injury I may do them in the repetition of what they offered, but submit what concerns them, as well as the honour of our whole proceedings, to your much wiser consideration. I am, Sir,

Your sincere admirer, and devoted humble servant,

R. STEELE.

Sir RICHARD STEELE'S SPEECH on the *Septennial* BILL, April 24, 1716.

'SIR,

'AFTER the very material quotation, which 'that gentleman * in the gallery has produced, 'it is evident that new choſen *Annual* PARLIA-'MENTS were never the cuſtom or right of this 'Kingdom. It remains therefore only to con-'ſider (that now there is a law, which makes 'Parliaments meet, as of courſe, at ſuch a ſtated 'Time) whether the period of Three Years 'anſwers the purpoſes intended by it? The 'Preamble to the *Triennial* ACT expreſſes, that 'it was introduced into the Conſtitution for the 'better Union and Agreement of the King and 'his People; but it has had a quite contrary 'effect; and experience has verified, what a 'wiſe man ſaid of it, when it was enacted, that 'it had made a *Triennial* King, a *Triennial* Mi-'niſtry, a *Triennial* Alliance. We feel this in 'all occurrences of State; and they who look 'upon us from abroad behold the ſtruggle in 'which we are neceſſarily engaged from time 'to time under this law. Ever ſince it has been 'enacted, the nation has been in a ſeries of con-'tention. The *firſt* Year of a *Triennial* Parlia-'ment has been ſpent in vindictive deciſions and

* Mr. Craggs, Junior.

'animoſities

'animosities about the late elections. The second 'Session has entered into business, but rather 'with a spirit of contradiction to what the pre-'vailing set of men in former Parliaments had 'brought to pass, than of a disinterested zeal for 'the common good. The *third* Session lan-'guished in the pursuit of what little was in-'tended to be done in the *second*; and the ap-'proach of an ensuing *Election* terrified the 'members into a servile management, according 'as their respective principals were disposed to-'wards the question before them in the House. 'Thus the State of England has been like that 'of a Vessel in distress at sea: the Pilot and 'Mariners have been wholly employed in keep-'ing the Ship from sinking; the art of navi-'gation was useless; and they never pretended 'to make sail. It is objected, that the alte-'ration proposed is a breach of trust. The 'trust, SIR, reposed in us is that of the public 'Good; the King, Lords, and Commons, are 'the parties who exercise this trust; by the 'measure of the common Good, they discharge 'themselves as well in the altering and repeal-'ing, as in the making or confirming of Laws. 'The period of time, in this case, is a subordi-'nate consideration; and those gentlemen who 'are against the alteration, speak in too pom-'pous a style, when they tell us, we are break-'ing into the Constitution. It has been further

'objected, that all this is only giving great 'power to the Miniſters, who may make an 'arbitrary uſe of it. The Miniſters are indeed 'like other men, from the infirmity of human 'nature, liable to be made worſe by power and 'authority; but this Act gives no addition to 'that authority itſelf, though it may, poſſibly, 'prolong the exerciſe of it in them. They are 'nevertheleſs reſponſible for their actions to a 'Parliament; and the mode of enjoying their 'offices is exactly the ſame. Now when the 'thing is thus, and that the period of *three* years 'is found, from infallible experience itſelf, a 'period that can afford us no good, where ſhall 'we reſt? The Ills that are to be done againſt 'ſingle perſons or communities are done by ſur-'prize, and on a ſudden; but good things are 'ſlow in their progreſs, and muſt wait occaſion. 'Deſtruction is done by a blow; but Reforma-'tion is brought about by leiſurely advances. 'All the miſchiefs which can be wrought under 'the *Septennial* ACT, can be perpetrated under 'the *Triennial*; but all the good which may be 'compaſſed under the *Septennial*, cannot be 'hoped for under the *Triennial*. We may fear 'that the Miniſters may do us harm; but that is 'no reaſon why we ſhould continue them under 'a diſability of doing us good. For theſe con-'ſiderations, I am unreſervedly for the Bill.'

CHARACTER OF SIR RICHARD STEELE,

From "Memoirs towards a Hiſtory of Men eminent "in the Republic of Letters, as well foreign as "domeſtic, 1731."

FROM the caſuiſtry of Dr. BURNET, I ſhall now proceed to that of Sir RICHARD STEELE, who in 1715, the year of the Preſton rebellion, gives us his honeſt reaſons for concerning himſelf ſo warmly both in theological and political enquiries. 'I muſt,' ſays he, 'ſay ſomething 'by way of apology to thoſe who may be ſur-'prized at my being ſo deep in points which 'I never before pretended to meddle with.' And, adds he, 'I acknowledge it has been ſometimes 'with me, as it is with too many others, that a 'ſort of an implicit Religion ſeemed the moſt 'eaſy, and moſt comfortable; and that a blind 'veneration for I know not what, and I knew 'not whom, ſtood for every thing valuable and 'important. I confeſs, I was not enough 'aware that this implicitneſs of conduct is the 'great engine of Popery framed for the de-'ſtruction of good nature, as well as good ſenſe. 'But my benevolence to my fellow-creatures, I 'can truly ſay, is, and has been always warm and 'inflexible. And this it is that hath, at length, 'alarmed and rouzed my underſtanding, which 'one

'one or two accidental ſhocks have ſettled into
'the order wherein I now feel it.

'I remember, that ſome ago I ſaid, in print,
'That all exorbitant power in Clergymen was
'Popery. What would be more general, or
'more inoffenſive, than to ſpeak this, without
'determining at all, what is that exorbitant
'power? And yet it is incredible, what an out-
'cry there was made about this, as if it was the
'very height of all madneſs and abſurdity to ſay
'ſo. I know there are many of that reverend
'body who are diſintereſted enough themſelves
'to maintain ſuch a ſentiment; but I ſoon found,
'from the reſentment of others, that no power,
'let it be what it will, in their hands, can be
'eſteemed by them to be exorbitant; or elſe,
'that that part of Popery was not a thing they
'mightily abhorred. Upon this, I proceeded to
'think a little farther of the conſequence and
'tenderneſs of ſuch principles.

'But the great ſhock of all that I ever received
'was from the proceedings about the late Schiſm-
'act, which opened the ſcene thoroughly. And
'this, I confeſs, was ſo great, as to move in me
'an indignation not to be contained; to ſee the
'law of nature, and the common rights of man-
'kind, going to be ſacrificed to fury and bigotry.
'I knew, indeed, very well, that the Church was
'only a word, made uſe of by thoſe then at the
'helm,

'helm, who valued all Churches and all Religions 'equally, and that no farther than for the for- 'warding their own ruinous projects. But I ſaw 'by how great a party the deſign was warmly 'eſpouſed; that their very hearts were in it; and 'crowds of innocent people enſnared by them 'into the ſame violence. This put me upon 'more enquiries; and led me to ſome thoughts, 'of which I then gave the world a ſhort account. 'It is upon that bottom I have governed myſelf 'ever ſince; till I am now brought, by the na- 'tural courſe of ſuch thoughts, to examine into 'the conduct of Chriſtians, and particularly of 'Proteſtants of all ſorts. One thing drew on 'another; and, as little converſant as I have 'heretofore been in ſuch matters, I quickly found 'that Chriſtianity was neither unintelligible, nor 'ill-natured; that the Goſpel does not invade 'the rights of mankind; nor inveſt any men 'with authority deſtructive to ſociety; and (what 'was the moſt melancholy part of the whole) 'that Proteſtants muſt be reduced to the ab- 'ſurdity of renouncing Proteſtant as well as 'Chriſtian Principles, before they can pretend to 'make their practices and their profeſſions con- 'ſiſtent. This I reſolved to repreſent; and have 'done it, without regard to any one ſort of 'them more than another.

'I am more and more perſuaded, every day,

hat it is fitting to underſtand Religion, as well as to praiſe it; and that it is the Golden Rule 'of Proportion, to give the higheſt reſpect to 'thoſe only who deſerve it.

'If I have uſed a ſeverity in ſome of the fore-'going pages, it flowed from the reſentment I 'have at the uſage King GEORGE hath 'met with from too many, of a body of men, 'who owe all their ſecurity to his acceſſion. This 'part of their conduct admits of no apology. I 'have given them ſufficient proof of my de-'votion to their intereſt, when they do not divide 'it from that of their country. But, I thank 'God, my love to the publick is above it: and I 'feel it true within, what the Patriot and Orator 'of Rome ſaid, "Omnes omnium charitates pa-'tria una complexa eſt." And therefore, ſince 'many of them are not contented that the Glory 'of their paſt conduct ſhould be forgot, or bu-'ried in ſilence; but have thought fit, by their 'renewed aſſaults, to revive the remembrance 'of their former behaviour, when they engaged 'themſelves in the cauſe of a worthleſs incendi-'ary, and taught the people, by the cry of the 'Church (which hath deſerved better uſage at 'their hands), to rebel for paſſive obedience *, 'and to inſult the ſupreme authority of the 'whole legiſlature, out of loyalty: Since, I ſay,

* Dr. Sacheverell.

'they

'they have begun the war anew, and beat a 'freſh alarm from their high places, and, un-'provoked and unmoleſted, have given the beſt 'of Kings a reception, unworthy (I do not ſay 'of Chriſtians, but) of men; it lies upon them 'alone to anſwer for the conſequences; and upon 'all others to guard their country, their laws, 'and their Prince, from ſuch attempts; and to 'ſhew by their courage and conſtancy, that, in 'ſpite of all the opportunities which ſuch men 'employ to the miſleading of the people, We 'will not ſacrifice, either our religion, or our 'eſtabliſhment, or even the very people whom 'they miſlead, out of any panick dread of their 'invectives, or inſtigations.

'Indeed, whatever others do, I think it time to 'let them ſee, that there are thoſe who are 'even paſſionately diſpoſed to love, and almoſt 'adore them, who will not fear them. Whilſt 'they ſhew the world that they hate the King, 'it is my humble opinion, that they who love 'him do no better than make a ſacrifice of him, 'whenever they ſhew themſelves afraid of ſuch 'men. As I am always romantic enough to ſpeak 'what I think; ſo I am weak enough to think 'it has its uſe.

'All the world knows, with what a tender-'neſs of affection, and what a ſincerity of paſ-'ſion, I have eſpouſed the cauſe of the Clergy

'and

'and Univerſities; that they have been obſerved
'to be the delight of my tongue, and the darling
'ſubject of my converſation; and that I have,
'with an impetuouſneſs of warmth, in ſeaſon and
'out of ſeaſon, run into their defence, and their
'panegyric. But what can I ſay? The cauſe,
'the topic, I delighted in, is torn from me; and
'left without any ſupport, but that of Hope, that
'the Better Part (who have ſtood faithful, un-
'corrupted, and unwearied, amidſt the throng
'of great Examples, and againſt the torrent of
'violence and reproach), may be looked upon,
'at preſent, as ſome atonement for the contrary;
'and their virtue (after the ſeaſon of mad Deſpair
'is over), ſpread its influence; and create an
'imitation, univerſal enough to raiſe again the
'Sacred Character, and make it once more ſhine
'in all that brightneſs and vigour of glory, in
'which every good man wiſhes to ſee it.

'And, in the mean while, certainly it remains
'upon the conſcience, and honour, of every True
'Briton, to employ all the opportunities which
'can occur to him, from his talents, his ſtation,
'and his fortune, in doing honour and ſervice
'to ſuch excellent men in Holy Orders as have,
'in the whole bent of their words and actions,
'and upon all juſt occaſions, acknowledged and
'aſſerted the conſtitution and baſis of our go-
'vernment. Happy they, who have the power,
'and the will, to do it.

'Cer-

'Certainly, to ſuch Clergymen eſteem and 'regard are due, in proportion to the excellence 'of their virtue, and to that courſe of calumny 'and reproach which they have ſuffered, both 'from their own order, and from others, for their 'candour and honeſty; in diſdaining to exalt 'themſelves, at the expence of the proſperity of 'their brethren; and in labouring to ſhew them-'ſelves the moſt generous Patriots, in reſpect of 'this world, as well as the moſt faithful Stewards, 'with reſpect to the next.

'What I have to add, is, that, if there were 'occaſion, I could call God to witneſs, that the 'whole of what I have ſaid, hath proceeded, not 'from any regard to private intereſt, or the nar-'row ſpirit of a party (which any one may ſee, 'at firſt view, who knows the world), but from 'a principle of benevolence, and a dilated zeal to 'ſerve the beſt of Princes, and the beſt of Conſti-'tutions; and particularly to reſcue the Chriſ-'tian and Proteſtant name, and the Church of 'England, from all the ſcandals of Antichriſti-'aniſm, and Popery.'

I ſhall now cloſe this ſhort Memoir with a recapitulation of the favours he received from his late Majeſty, who, ſoon after his acceſſion to the throne, put him in the commiſſion of the peace for the county of Middleſex, and made him ſurveyor of the ſtables at his palace of Hampton-court, and governor of the Royal company

company of Comedians; and, in April 1715, the King was pleaſed to honour him with Knighthood, upon the preſenting of an addreſs to his Majeſty by the Lieutenancy, of which he was the penman.

In the firſt Parliament of King GEORGE I. he was choſe a member for Boroughbrigg in Yorkſhire, and after the ſuppreſſing of the rebellion in the North was appointed one of the Commiſſioners of the forfeited eſtates in Scotland, where he received diſtinguiſhing marks of reſpect from ſeveral of the nobility and gentry of that part of Great Britain. In this Parliament Sir RICHARD voted for the repeal of the Triennial Act, and of the occaſional Conformity and Schiſm Acts; but oppoſed the Peerage Bill, not only within doors, but without, by the Share he had in thoſe excellent papers called the PLEBEIAN. Not long after this, he wrote in oppoſition to the South-Sea Schemers, which ſomehow or other gave offence; the conſequence of which was very well known. He likewiſe wrote ſome of the PASQUINS, and two papers called the WHIG.

Towards the latter end of his life he grew paralytic, and being perfectly diſabled for all ſorts of buſineſs, ſtudy, and converſation, having in a great meaſure loſt his ſpeech, as well as the uſe of his limbs, he retired to Caermarthen in Wales, where he lingered ſome years in that unhappy condition.

A N

AN ACCOUNT OF THE FISH POOL:

CONSISTING OF

A DESCRIPTION of the VESSEL ſo called, lately invented and built for the Importation of Fiſh alive, and in good health, from parts however diſtant.

A PROOF of the Imperfection of the *Well-Boat* hitherto uſed in the FISHING TRADE.

The true REASONS why Ships become ſtiff or crank in ſailing; with other Improvements, very uſeful to all Perſons concerned in Trade and Navigation.

Likewiſe, a DESCRIPTION of the Carriage intended for the Conveyance of Fiſh by land, in the ſame good Condition as in the *Fiſh-Pool* by Sea.

By Sir *RICHARD STEELE*, and Mr. *JOSEPH GILLMORE*, Mathematician.

Firſt printed in the Year 1718.

To the Right Honourable Sir JOHN WARD, Knight, LORD MAYOR of LONDON.

MY LORD, [1718.]

AS I think it manifeſt that the deſign, explained in the following account *, will introduce a new and profitable courſe of Trade; I preſume to addreſs this narration to the greateſt Magiſtrate of the greateſt commercial City.

Your perſonal eminent qualities, as a good citizen and man of buſineſs, which I have frequently heard you exert, where you, with great ability, repreſent the ſame city in another ho-

* This was one of Sir RICHARD STEELE's projects, alluded to in many of the letters preſerved in his "Epiſtolary Correſpondence," for which he obtained a patent, whence he deri ed ultimately no advantage. The patent was dated June 10. 1718. It appears from this publication, and from N° XXVIII. the laſt number of his "Theatre," that STEELE expected to have made an ample fortune by this machine: but, on trial, it did not anſwer his expectations; for, though by this ingenious contrivance the fiſh were ſupplied with a continual ſtream of water in croſſing the ſea, yet, not brooking the confinement, they battered themſelves againſt the ſides of the veſſel, and were ſo much injured in their paſſage, that, when brought to market, they did not fetch a proper price. "BENSON," he obſerves in his "Epiſtolary Correſpondence" Letter CCLXXIX, "is ſo buſy with great men, that GILLMORE's affair is re-"tarded by it." We learn however with certainty, from Letter CCLXXXIX. p. 175, that STEELE's expence was not *immenſe* on this occaſion; and that the fate of his invention, though a great diſappointment, was by no means ſuch a loſs to him, as it is repreſented by the writer of his life in the *Biographia Britannica*, art. STEELE, p. 3833, *Note*.

nourable character * entitle you alſo to the veneration and eſteem which determine me in my preſent application.

The Arts and Sciences (in which I pretend to no accurate ſkill), ſhould always be employed in enquiries that may tend to the general advantage; and they muſt loſe the name of liberal, when the profeſſors of them ſeclude themſelves from ſociety, or live in it without applying their abilities to the ſervice of it. For it is by the joint force of men of different talents that uſeful purpoſes are beſt accompliſhed; and a certain felicity of invention in one, joined to the experience and practical ſkill of another, may bring works to perfection which would be ſo far from growth, that they would not ſo much as have had birth, but from the good intelligence between perſons of unlike abilities, whoſe goodwill towards each other united their endeavours.

I dare promiſe your Lordſhip, that the correſpondence between the undertakers of this deſign will produce to the world many other operations, which will create more wonder that they were not performed before, than that they are now brought into uſe. For it is certain,

* He repreſented the city of London in the parliaments elected in 1708 and 1714, and the borough of Dunwich in 1722. He was elected Alderman of Candlewick Ward in 1709; ſerved the office of Sheriff in 1716; and that of Lord Mayor in 1718-19. He was alſo one of the Directors of the Bank; and died March 12, 1725-6.

that

that great and worthy works * are every day loſt, by the diſtance which is kept between men, from the very reaſon which ſhould make them ſeek each other in their different ways of life and education.

Among the employments of human life, that of the Merchant (whoſe [illegible] is the good of all men) ſhould by all be held in the firſt eſteem: it is he who enlarges the intereſts of his country; it is he, who, by his credit, makes his fellow-citizen every where at home, and extends the offices, advantages, and civilities of acquaintance and neighbourhood, to all parts of the habitable world.

The following invention is propoſed to be carried on with a ſuperior regard to the laws and rights of commerce, which oblige every man to think of himſelf but in the ſecond place, or to make his firſt intentions at leaſt ſtrictly agreeable to the good of his country, and that of all his fellow-citizens; and therefore, the account of it may be a preſent not unworthy a gentleman of your free and diſintereſted character; and I flatter myſelf it will have the in-

* If it were not that STEELE had been, long before this time, laughed at as a Chemiſt who was ſearching in vain for the philoſopher's ſtone, one might have ſuppoſed, from this paſſage, that "the laboratory at "Poplar, now converted into a garden-houſe," was the ſcene of the ſecret operations whence the Fiſh Pool and other wonderful diſcoveries were to originate. See Supplement to Swift, cr. 8vo. vol. I. p. 111.

fluence of your Lordſhip in the proſecution of it. I need not ſay how great that influence muſt needs be, where you act for them in the greateſt capacities your fellow-citizens have to beſtow.

I congratulate both them and you, that a perſon of ſuch known equanimity is veſted with the double capacity of aſſerting and protecting their privileges; whoſe candour and benignity naturally tend to abate animoſity, encourage induſtry, promote peace, prevent diſorder, ſecure wealth, and relieve poverty: in all which noble ends and cares I wiſh you a proſperous and memorable Mayoralty; and again humbly deſiring, that, if the deſign ſhall in the leaſt degree appear ſerviceable in any of theſe generous reſpects, it may have your protection.

I remain, my Lord, your Lordſhip's moſt obedient, and moſt humble ſervant,

RICHARD STEELE.

THE

THE FISH-POOL, &c.

THERE has much calumny been uttered, and many impertinent obſervations made upon one of the undertakers of this work which I am now going to deſcribe; but as he formerly declared in print, that while he was purſuing what he believed might conduce to the common good, he gave the ſyllables RICHARD STEELE to the publick, to be uſed and treated as they ſhould think fit, he muſt go on in the ſame indifference, and allow the Town their uſual liberty with his name, which I find they think they have much more room to ſport with than formerly, as it is lengthened with the monoſyllable SIR.

But though I am not ſolicitous for what they ſay of SIR RICHARD STEELE, merely as it regards the matter of his fame or reputation, which is too large to be unexceptionably good or bad, but muſt neceſſarily ſhare the fate which attends men of undertaking complexions, who are the entertainment and diſcourſe of idle

people, that insensibly, for want of other employment, hate the persons of those they never saw, and oppose designs into which they never examine. I say, let one of the undertakers be considerable or inconsiderable, according to the temper of the company wherein he is mentioned, I cannot let a great and good work, which may be a benefit to all the world, be lost and run down, because perhaps his part in it may have been only a mere suggestion, or a lucky start, that owes its progress to the being communicated to a more capable man, that ripened it into practice, and qualified it for the service of society.

If this were the case, as I know it is, and that with great inconvenience to himself; any man, from a restless good spirit, has attempted (not to say accomplished) a most extraordinary work, for the advantage of the whole species, especially the poorer sort, all men are obliged, in justice and gratitude, at least to give the matter a fair hearing.

The reader is desired, on this foundation only, as it regards himself and all other men, as well as the undertakers, to approve and condemn the design of the FISH-POOL, and to hear the relation of the several steps and degrees by which it was brought to its present perfection.

It

It is now about five years ſince Sir RICHARD STEELE, upon ſeeing certain experiments of an air-pump, conſulted a gentleman of known experience and ability, concerning a deſign to form a veſſel which ſhould preſerve dead fiſh from corruption a longer time than uſual; but the gentleman ſo conſulted convinced him of the impoſſibility of performing that matter in the manner he ſuppoſed it practicable, and diſcouraged him from farther enquiry that way.

But the matter did not end there; that diſappointment only gave his thoughts another caſt; and much reflection on that ſubject ended in an imagination, that though dead fiſh could not be preſerved from putrefaction by what he had ſuggeſted, live fiſh might, by new methods, be conveyed better than they had been by the means already practiſed, which would end in the ſame advantage.

About this time Mr. STEELE had the good fortune to become acquainted with Mr. GILLMORE, and, falling by degrees into great familiarity, frequently hinted to him, that he could not but think it practicable, that a veſſel might be contrived ſo as to bring fiſh alive much better than at preſent; and took frequent occaſions to ſolicit him, whom he knew very well ſkilled in navigation and other parts of the mathematicks, to turn his thoughts on that ſubject. Mr. GILL-

MORE

MORE could not be brought to apply himself to this proposal, 'till about a twelvemonth ago he was urged, by a letter from Sir RICHARD STEELE, to comply with his former request, now he (Mr. GILLMORE) was at leisure, at his place of abode at Nettleton in Wiltshire.

The thing that dwelt upon the imagination of the inventor was, that, since it was notorious that ships, without sinking, frequently admitted many tuns of water, besides their proper lading, a vessel, by a good artist, who knew the reason, nature, philosophy, principles, and laws of mechanism, might be contrived to carry no lading but water and fish, whereby fish might live commodiously, and such water be admitted, and made to pass through at will, and nevertheless the ship to sail with safety.

Mr. GILLMORE began now to listen, and returned for answer, he would immediately take the matter into consideration, and in a few days after sent his friend the projection from which the FISH-POOL was modelled, and built 16 inches by the keel; which 16 inches were divided into 40 equal parts, and made into a scale called feet, and by it projected the FISH-POOL, 40 foot by the keel, 16 foot broad in the midships, and 6 foot deep between the kelson and deck on which she swims; with Grates 'fore and aft', air-pipes, well into the hold through both decks,

decks, masts, yards, rigging, and hatch-way to go down between decks, and other conveniencies, all in proportion.

From this model, by a lesser scale, was made an hull of very small dimensions, as 10 inches by the keel, 5 inches broad in the midship, 2 inches and a quarter deep in the hold, with a proportionable well, and a little glass deck, on which it was to swim.

We carried our vessel over land to a place near the village of Hackney, called Temple-Mills, which is the spot that divides Middlesex from Essex, near an island which we named, from its bigness, Tresacre Island.

After we had put into our vessel a Flounder and six Gudgeons (on which latter word we allow all small Wits to make merry), we placed her in the current of the second trough of a log-wood mill, and moored her very safely, where, from hour to hour we visited her, and through her glass deck saw her passengers very merry, which made us not a whit less contented. After we had remained in the house adjacent as long as we thought convenient, we left a young man to attend the vessel, and keep a journal of what passed, as to the consumption of the food of the fish, and the like.

The ignorant are naturally malicious to any thing they see out of the common road, and we

and the earth, by being more weighty, will reſiſt it, and make it ſpread horizontally.

By the rule of this philoſophy, before we proceeded farther, we took into conſideration the only engine hitherto employed for carrying fiſh alive, to wit,

The WELL-BOAT; ſee Plate I.

Since all that has been hitherto attempted of this kind has been by a WELL-BOAT; and that it is known, that from the moment fiſh are put into that vehicle, they ſicken, foam, and froth at the mouth, fall into convulſions, and in a ſmall time die; it behoved us to examine the reaſon of this, and found that it cannot happen otherwiſe, as appears from Fig. 1, which ſhews that they cannot receive in that machine what are abſolutely neceſſary to their Being, *viz.* freſh air and freſh water; becauſe the pillar of air A, preſſes down upon the WELL BOAT B, which WELL-BOAT is ſupported by pillar of water C, and ſurrounded by the like Trapezium of water *d e f g b i*, by which means, and the Bulk-heads O O, all freſh air and water are excluded.

This is farther proved by Fig. 2. L is a cylinder well cloſed and without the leaſt hole or crack, in the middle of which a candle was placed, and in a few minutes went out; but when a lighted candle was again fixed as before,

and

and in a ſmall ſpace of time was in the ſame manner going out, a little vent or hole was made in the ſide, on which it revived; and will ſtill do ſo more, in proportion to the greatneſs of the hole; by which we concluded, that the cylinder being full of air, and preſſed by the pillar above it, the flame of the candle could not ſubſiſt; but when the pillar of air was broken in the cylinder, by means of the vent-hole, we apprehended the matter of the candle to be put (or rather continued) in motion, and therefore it revived. From either of which circumſtances the confinement of only a certain quantity of water in a WELL-BOAT, or air in any ſuch veſſel, equally appears.

Now, that the fiſh in this new-invented veſſel are conſtantly ſupplied with freſh air and freſh water will appear from Fig. 3.

It is to be underſtood that this veſſel is to have no other lading than water and fiſh; *i. e.* this veſſel is to carry as much weight of water and fiſh, as another would of dry goods, to make her ſink low enough down into the water, ſo as to be fit for ſailing; and that the fiſh and water are to fill all the hold of the veſſel.

A B is the lower deck, on which ſhe ſwims; ſhe is ſupported by the pillar of water A B F G, and encompaſſed all round by the Trapezium of water R R G F preſſing againſt it.

Hitherto

Hitherto the new veſſel is but in the condition of all other boats, and even of the WELL-BOAT itſelf.

But whereas the imperfection of the WELL-BOAT conſiſts, in that the water and air are conſtantly the ſame, and conſtrained to be ſuch by a perpendicular weight of both, and an horizontal preſſure on all ſides; from which the fiſh are relieved only by the motion of their own ſtruggling, and the tacking of the veſſel, without which they could not live 24 hours after they are in the boat:

In this invention the air and water flow together, come into the ſhip horizontally, and paſs through it in a conſtant ſucceſſion, yielding freſh air and freſh water, to the relief, ſuſtenance, and delight of the fiſh; which great advantage is effected by large grates at the head and ſtern, or each end of the veſſel, at P and M, and by the vents which open into 4 large pipes before, and 2 abaft, and in the midſhips, the well is covered with gratings, as O. There are alſo other conveniences, to wit, the main-maſt, and ſluice-pipe, all which yield a free diſcharge, and form an uninterrupted paſſage for the air.

After the projectors were ſatisfied of the uſe and benefit of the air and water, in which they were to work, as far as it concerned their deſign, the next thing was to conſider how their intended

tended veſſel would receive advantage from them in its ſailing and working; which brought on the third experiment, that is demonſtrated by Fig. A. which ſhews the form of a parallelopepidon, 12 foot long, 9 inches broad, and 6 inches deep, as *a b c d*. This trough was filled with fine clear water, which done, there was put into it a ſmall model of the hull of our ſloop, 12 inches long, 4 broad, and 3 deep, with grates 'fore and aft', and a glaſs deck; to render all that paſſed through her viſible, as B. Into the well P, we put a deep-red liquor, and found that by the motion of the veſſel through the water, the diſtance 20 times her length, ſhe would diſcharge all her ſaid red water. See plate I. fig. A.

Now, the fiſh-veſſel deſigned being 40 foot by the keel, if you divide 5280, the feet in a mile, by 800 foot, 20 times her length, the quotient ſheweth ſhe diſcharges herſelf of all her old water ſix times and ſix tenths in a mile, or 33 times every 5 miles.

From which it appears by demonſtration, that the whole maſs of the parts of water are moved, more or leſs, by the motion of any of them, in proportion to the magnitude and velocity of the bodies which preſs upon them, and the ſucceſſion of freſh air and water in the veſſel to be accordingly: ſo that the whole body

of water contained in ſuch a veſſel will be changed, as aforeſaid, in 20 times its length; and the more ſwift the motion of the veſſel is, the more rapid the current will be through her, as in Fig. 4. where, A B C D repreſent the iron gratings 'fore and aft', through which the water paſſeth, forming the currents A C and B D; whoſe motion is nearly equal, though in a contrary direction to that of the ſhip.

In the hold are put ſtops, to throw ſome part of the water into eddies, as L L L; that the fiſh may not be hurt by its velocity, but ſwim and play as eaſy as in the free and open ſea.

The laſt experiment was by the aforeſaid veſſel with the glaſs deck, whoſe hold had gratings 'fore and aft', and was full of holes on the ſides; the length of it was 12 inches, and breadth 4, which makes 16 inches for the height of the main-maſt; but we made it 20 inches long, and when it floated on the water, we found it truly boyant, and neither too crank nor too ſtiff.

Then we ſtopped up the ſaid gratings and holes in her ſides, and ſunk her till ſhe drew as much water as before; which we effected by loading her with dry gravel, and found her then ſomewhat more ſtiff; becauſe, by ſo much as the gravel is heavier than water of the ſame magnitude, it muſt lie farther from the center

of

of motion, and make her too ſtiff. This proves water to be the trueſt lading, and was ſtill a confirmation of this new invention.

Thus far we have proved the capacity, the aptneſs, the power, and commodiouſneſs of our veſſel; after all which, we may ſtill fail, if we do not underſtand the nature of lading, which experience and wiſdom has brought to light and practice among men.

To avoid any error from inadvertency this way, it was well debated and conſidered, that there is a great difference between a ſhipwright's and merchant's way of calculating the tunnage of a ſhip; and finding this difficulty, made us think it proper to examine, from the nature of the thing itſelf, how many tuns Averdupois weight a ſhip will carry.

The ſhipwright's way is to multiply the length of the keel by the middle breadth, and that product by half the breadth, and then they divide the laſt product by 94, and the quotient is the tunnage.

The FISH-POOL ſloop is 40 foot by the keel, and 17 foot broad in the midſhips, which, by their cuſtomary rule, meaſures 61.5 tuns.

To find how many tuns weight a Ship will carry.

The FISH-POOL ſloop being inched according to common gauging, the mean length in the

hold is 42 feet, mean breadth is 13.687 feet, and depth 6 feet, which multiplied together is 3449.124 cubic feet of water; each foot of salt sea water, by the nicest experiments, weighing 64.25 pounds *, and a cubick foot of clear fresh water weighs but 62.75 pounds, which is the very reason why a ship is more boyant in salt water than in fresh. Now if the cubick feet of salt water in the hold be multiplied by 64.25 pounds (the true weight of a cubick foot of sea water), it will be 221606 pounds Averdupois weight, or 98 tuns, 18 hundred 2 quarters, and 14 pounds; and so much weight of any sort of dry goods must be in the hold of a ship of her burthen, to make her neither too crank nor too stiff; and this weight is no more than what is commonly allowed by merchants themselves, of box, bale, or case goods, by allowing 66 cubick feet to a tun in bulk. Suppose you have 6 bales of goods, 6 foot long, 2 foot broad, and 2 deep; multiply the length, breadth, and depth, one into the other, the product is 24 cubick feet for one bale; and that multiplied by 6, is 144 cubick feet in the 6 bales; the whole divided by 66, the quotient is 2.182 tuns. We will suppose this 2.182 tuns to be red wine, of which a cubick foot weighs 62.06 Pounds Averdupois, the goods before-mentioned

* See Ward's Tables.

measure

meaſure 144 cubick feet, which multiplied by 62.06, the product is its true weight, *viz.* 3 tuns, 19 hundred, 3 quarters, and 4 pounds; or ſuppoſe it to be oyl olive, of which 57.06 pounds is a cubick foot, then the aforeſaid 2.182 tuns, or 144 cubick feet of oyl olive, will weigh 3 tuns, 13 hundred, 1 quarter, and 12 pounds; and the quantity of the FISH-POOL's hold, as before-mentioned, is 3449 cubick feet, divided by 66 cubick feet, the quotient is 52.25 tuns of merchants tunnage; which ſaid 3449 cubick feet, or 52.25 tuns, we will proportion to the ſeveral weights of liquids following, *viz.* that 1 cubick foot of ſalt water weighs 64.25 pounds, of clear freſh water 62.5 pounds, red wine 62.06 pounds, and oyl olive 57.06 pounds Averdupois weight. If ſo,

Then 66 cubick feet, or 1 tun of merchants allowance will weigh,

	hun.	*qu.*	*p.*
If ſalt water	37	3	12
Clear freſh water	36	3	9
Red wine	36	1	26
Oyl olive	33	2	14

It is plain that different ſolids and liquids have different weights, and, by conſequence, all different cargoes muſt vary the ſame, as appears by the table following:

That a hold meaſuring 3449 cubick feet

	tun	*hun.*	*qu.*	*p.*
Of ſalt water is ————	98	18	2	14
Clear freſh water ———	96	4	2	18
Red wine ————	95	11	0	13
Oyl Olive ————	87	17	0	16

This account is purely to ſatisfy thoſe that are not acquainted with the nature of theſe things, that ſo much goods ought to be in the hold, as is equal to ſuch a weight of Water as would fill the hold, and will bring the ſhip down ſo far into the water as is limited; for the weight of goods preſſes out no more water than would fill the hold; and if the goods are lighter or heavier than water of the ſame magnitude, the ſhip will be either too ſtiff or too crank, as will be demonſtrated in its proper place.

The next thing we conſidered was, how much all the timber, that bounds the hold from the floating-deck to the keel, is lighter than water of the ſame magnitude.

The keel, floor-timbers, kelſon, ſtem, ſtern-poſt, dead wood 'fore and aft', and ſtep of the maſt, were exactly meaſured, and found to be 649.5 cubick feet. By the beſt experiments that have been made *, a cubick foot of ſound dry oak will weigh 58 pounds, by which mul-

* According to Ward's book.

tiply

y the ſaid 649.5 feet, the product is 37671
nds Averdupois weight,

	tun	*hun.*	*qu.*	*p.*
Or, —	16	16	1	10
n bolts, gratings, &c. —	01	00	0	00
y abaft —	02	00	0	00
Total	19	16	1	10

	tun	*hun.*	*qu.*	*p.*
649.5 Cubick feet of ſea er of the ſame magnie of the timber, at 64.25 nds each foot —	18	12	2	10
Two tuns of clay abaft, ng twice as heavy as er of the ſame magnie, and therefore takes but half the room of er, the $\frac{1}{2}$ is	01	00	0	00
Total	19	12	2	10

From	19	16	1	10
Take	19	12	2	10
Remains	00	03	3	00

Which is over and above the weight of water.

The ſpecifick gravity of bodies of the ſame magnitude will preſs them downward, if heavier than liquids; and the liquids will preſs them upwards, if lighter.

	tun	*hun.*	*qu.*	*p.*
Add the water in the hold	98	18	2	14
To the weight over and above the weight of water	00	03	3	00
The Total	99	02	1	04

Is the whole weight under the floating-deck, or the true weight a ſhip for this purpoſe ought to have; and, to be ſure, a great deal of care muſt be taken, that there is but a ſmall matter of weight added more to the timber, iron, *&c.* than the weight of water of the ſame magnitude of the timber.

The next thing we conſidered, was the weight of every thing above the floating-deck, the weight the ſloop will carry between decks, and by conſequence how many inches the floating-deck will ſink under the ſuperficies of the water on the outſide of the ſloop, and from thence how much water ſhe will bear between-decks before ſhe wil ſink.

Firſt, the timber, neceſſaries, *&c.* as the floating-deck, beams, knees, timbers in the ſides, timbers in the upper-deck, windleſs, and cheeks, paulbits, cattheads, capſton, ſtem, maſts, yards, rigging,

rigging, neceſſaries, &c. were all exactly meaſured and weighed.

	tun	*hun.*	*qu.*	*p.*
All the timbers meaſured 982 cubick feet, at 58 pounds per foot, is	25	00	2	04
Cordage, anchors, iron bolts, meat, drink, coal, ſix men, &c. weight	06	00	0	00
Weight in all	31	00	2	04

2dly, *What weight ſhe will carry between decks, and how many inches the floating deck will ſink under the ſuperficies of the water on the outſide.*

Length of the deck E D 50 foot, mean breadth 16 foot, and depth 6 foot, which multiplied one by the other, is 4800 cubick feet, and multiplied by 64.25 pounds, the weight of a cubick foot of water, the product is 308400 pounds Averdupois, or 137 tuns, 13 hundred, 2 quarters, and 8 pounds, between-decks E N P D.

3dly, *To find how many inches the floating-deck* E D *will ſink under the ſuperficies of the water on the outſide.*

Having before found, that between-decks ſhe meaſures 4800 cubick feet of ſalt water, at 6

foot

foot deep, then every inch deep muſt contain 66.666 cubick feet of ſalt water, allowing 64.25 pounds to a cubick foot, as before, the weight is 38 hundred and 27 pounds on every inch deep; now, if 38 hundred and 27 pounds ſink the floating deck 1 inch, then all the timbers, cordage, anchors, &c. being 31 tuns and 60 pounds, as before-mentioned, will ſink it 16.227 inches under the ſuperficies of the water on the out-ſide of the middle deck; that is the floating-deck E D in *Fig.* 5. will be 16.227 inches under water, as E A or B D.

The aforeſaid E A or B D is 16.227 inches; the depth of the arch of the deck thwartſhips is 4 inches; the ½ is 2 inches, which 2 inches added to 16.227, makes 18.227 inches, the depth of the water in the well, as L C; then take 18.227 inches, as L C, from 6 foot as L H, the remainder is almoſt 54 inches, or 4 foot 6 inches, as C H equal to B P, or A N, free board.

Now (as we proved before, that the hold meaſured 3449 cubick feet, allowing 66 cubick feet to a tun, merchants tunnage), the FISH-POOL Sloop is not quite 53 tuns; and where is any ſhip of her burthen more than 4 foot 6 inches free board when loaden, beſides the thickneſs of her upper deck plank, and 2 inches more to the ſcupper-holes.

4thly,

4thly, *How much water the* FISH-POOL Sloop *muſt take in between-decks, to make her ſink, and conſequently whether this* Fiſh Veſſel *is as ſafe as a merchant-man, or leſs dangerous than a common* Well-boat?

In order thereunto, we muſt find how much water ſhe muſt ſhip between-decks to make her ſink.

We have calculated before, that between-decks E N D P meaſures 4800 cubick feet, and allowed 64.25 pounds to a foot of ſalt water, the weight is 137 tuns, 13 hundred, 2 quarters, and 8 pounds: we have likewiſe before calculated that 38 hundred, and 27 pounds weight of water will ſink her but 1 inch, then, if 1 inch requires 38 hundred and 27 pounds to ſink it, then 4 foot 4 inches, the remains of the 6 foot between-decks, as B P or A N, will require 99 tuns, 8 hundred, 2 quarters, and 4 pounds; ſo, by conſequence, ſhe muſt ſhip ſo much water before ſhe can ſink; and if by God's bleſſing we can keep all things cloſe in a ſtorm, ſhe is a great deal ſafer than any other veſſel; becauſe, if you ſpring a leak in a merchant-man, ſhe muſt ſink, if you cannot keep her free with the pumps; but in this Fiſh-Veſſel, the floating deck being under your feet,

feet, the leak may be ſeen, and ſtopped immediately.

Farther, we are much ſafer than a WELL-BOAT, becauſe all our water is confined like water in a bottle, as *Fig.* 5. E D N P is all dry between decks; the veſſel is ſunk to A and B on the outſide of the ſhip; and if ſo, by conſequence the water in the well will riſe to C. Now conſidering how the deck ſhe ſwims on E L D is preſſed down into the water as deep as E A or D B, how is it poſſible, under ſuch a confinement, the water ſhould be toſſed by the ſallies of the veſſel (occaſioned by the ſurges of the ſea), from one ſide to the other, like a common WELL-BOAT?

Again, How can it be, but that there muſt enſue a conſtant ſucceſſion and freſh ſupplies of water, ſince ſhe hath large gratings before, containing 360 ſquare inches, to let the water in; and abaft, gratings of 740 ſquare inches, to let the water out; and the conveniencies of large blow-pipes, to vent what air ſhall happen to be forced in by the riſings of the veſſel in head ſeas.

But the WELL-BOAT is of a different nature, as in *Fig.* 6. which repreſents an Engliſh WELL-BOAT, A, the mouth of the Well, B, the whole body to contain the fiſh, P P two bulk-heads, or ends of the Well, running athwartſhips; ſo part of

of the two ſides, and the two bulk-heads or ends, make the Well; C D, all cavity between the bulk-heads and the two extreme ends of the boat, to make her boyant.

It is impoſſible ſuch a formed veſſel as this ſhould approve itſelf to the examination of thoſe in this great city, who underſtand the nature and reaſon of things, and whoſe buſineſs it is, on a diligent enquiry, either to correct, approve, or reject it. Which proves it was never calculated by art, but brought to what it is by the long and dear coſt and experience of ſome poor publick-ſpirited fiſhermen.

For 1ſt, no manner of proviſion was made for the conveyance of air, without which no creature can live.

2dly, On every ſally of the boat, the water in the Well muſt ſhift its place; and in violent ſeas it ſometimes hath forced the hatches open which cover the Well, and ſometimes breaks through the Bulk-heads.

Beſides this, how uneaſy muſt the fiſh be in ſuch violent motions, to be battered againſt the ſides of the Well; and if a calm happen, the water having no motion, the fiſh muſt in a little time be ſuffocated: and at the very beſt, they have no relief by freſh ſupplies of water, but by the veſſel's tacking about; and then, perhaps, the fiſhes motion, and ſtruggling for life, may

preſs

preſs out ſome filthy ſlime, through the holes in the ſides of the Well, and ſo make their ſituation a little more healthful.

The next thing we are to prove is, That water is as good, or indeed better lading than any dry goods whatſoever.

Suppoſe (ſo far as the ſhip ſinks in the water) an imaginary line to go from ſtem to ſtern; in that line lies the Center of Motion of the ſhip; and the Center of Gravity not being in the Center of Motion, it will deſcend till it comes under the Center of Motion; and the farther it is diſtant from the Center of Motion, the more will its weight be, and the nearer, the leſs, ſo as to render her accordingly more ſtiff or more crank.

The FISH-POOL Sloop will carry in her Hold 99 tuns weight, or 52 tuns of merchants allowance, reckoning 66 cubick feet to a tun, as hath been before proved.

Fig. 7. *Suppoſe a Ship laden with* 99 *tun weight of Lead, and that ſhould lie in the bottom of the hold, to the height* BC, *and equal to the whole weight of Water that would fill the Hold* DEC.

It is plain here, that A is the center of motion, on which the whole body moves; and every man concerned

concerned in ſea affairs knows by experience (and that ſometimes dearly bought too), that there is a neceſſity of raiſing the weight of lead nearer the center of motion A, by dividing the weight, and laying ſeveral ranges of billet-wood between the like ranges of lead; or elſe the ſhip would lie ſo ſtiff in the ſea, that ſhe could not yield to the wind; by which oppoſition, all the maſts would be blown down, or brought by the board, and the ſeas would make a high road over her decks. Which proves, that by ſo much as the cargo is heavier than water of the ſame magnitude, by ſo much the ſhip will be ſtiffer than ſhe ought to be, and move the heavier upon the center of motion A towards D or E; becauſe, the quantity of the lead B C, in the bottom of the hold is 99 Tuns, and that of ſea water of the ſame magnitude B C, would be but a little above 11 tuns; for, a cubick foot of lead is 707 pounds and 13 ounces, and a cubic foot of ſalt water 64 pounds and 4 ounces.

Fig. 8. *Suppoſe a Ship laden with* 99 *tuns of Sugar as deep as* a b, *and which loading lies nearer the Center of Motion* A *than the former Cargo of Lead did.*

By ſo much as the cargo of ſugar a b D is heavier than ſea water of the ſame magnitude, by

by ſo much ſhe is too ſtiff; becauſe, the magnitude of ſugar a b D is 99 tuns weight, and water of the ſame magnitude is but 80 tuns weight; therefore the ſhip muſt be too ſtiff, and moves the heavier upon the center of motion A towards B or C.

Fig. 9. *Suppoſe a Ship be laden with 99 tuns weight of lighter Goods, where a greater part of it muſt be ſtowed between-decks, or above the* Center of Motion A, *as high as* L N.

Now, by ſo much weight as is between-decks A L N, on every ſally of the ſhip, ſo much is the weight in the hold A P R leſſened: for by ſo much as the cargo is lighter than water of the ſame magnitude, by ſo much the ſhip muſt be cranker, and be conſequently more in danger to overſet: for, all the light goods that will fill the hold and between-decks, will weigh but 99 tuns, which is her real cargo; and the water of the ſame magnitude (that is, were the hold and between-decks full of water) would weigh 198 tuns; which plainly proves ſhe hath 99 tuns weight to aſſiſt the wind to overſet her. But if the cargo be lighter than water of the ſame magnitude, and under the center of motion, balaſt muſt be uſed to ſink her down to the center of motion; but then ſhe will be too ſtiff,

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p. 206
Fig. 2.
Fig. A. p. 210.
Fig. 3. p. 210.
H
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Fig. 8.
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Fig.
K

by ſo much as the balaſt is heavier than water of the ſame magnitude; as would be the caſe, were ſhe loaded with Tobacco, or other ſuch light goods.

Fig. 10. But if a ſhip hath 99 tuns weight of ſalt water in the Hold B A C D, and that water be ſtopped down (as is the caſe of our FISH-POOL), it muſt needs lie there more equal and uniform than any cargo of goods can poſſibly do; for it will lie, with regard to the motion and ſallies of the ſhip, juſt as if it were congealed into a ſolid body of ice of the ſame weight and magnitude. And it is impoſſible that any kind of dry goods (not even corn itſelf, were her hold full of it, and well caulked down), can be ſtowed ſo commodiouſly; neither can ſuch a ſhip, thus moving upon the center of motion A, be either too crank or too ſtiff.

What hath been ſaid about the weight in the Hold of a ſhip may be demonſtrated by a balance, and needs not any large explication, the properties of the Libra, or balance, being ſo well known; but, for illuſtration, be pleaſed to obſerve, that if the weights at the ends be equal, and at equal diſtances from the center of motion, it will cauſe an equilibrium, and the center of gravity will be in the center of motion, as *Fig.* 11,

A is the center; ſuppoſe B and C equally diſtant from the center A, it is plain the beam will be horizontal; but if the weight C be ſlipped to D, the beam muſt of neceſſity decline; becauſe A D being double the diſtance of A B, half the weight at D will balance B; and if the weight be moved to E, being three times the diſtance A B, one third will balance the weight B; that is, were the weight B 30 pounds, 10 pounds at E would bring the beam to a balance; that is, the power at E muſt be of the ſame proportion to the weight B, as the diſtance A B is to the diſtance A E.

The following demonſtrations will farther prove what hath been ſaid of the ponderoſity of a ſhip's cargo being nearly or farther off from the center of motion:

Fig. 12. B repreſents the materials above the floating-deck, L the weight of the ſaid materials 6 tuns, C the lead in the hold, P the weight of the ſaid lead 99 tuns, and A the center of motion. Now, ſo far as the weight P (being the center of magnitude to C) is removed from the true center of magnitude *b* (if the hold was full of water), by ſo much the ſhip muſt be too ſtiff; for the weight P, being four times and a half diſtant, more than L, from the center of motion

motion A, the weight L muſt be 445 tuns to hundred, to poize the weight P; and how is it poſſible ſuch a veſſel ſhould yield to the wind, to move 445.5 tuns, but all the maſts muſt be blown by the board? To prevent which, the lead C muſt be broken into parts, and by billet-wood, or ſome ſuch light thing, between, raiſed to the center A, as *a b c*, as aforeſaid.

Fig. 13. B repreſents the materials, as aforeſaid, L the weight of the ſaid materials, T the ſugar in the hold, P the weight of the ſugar, and A the center of motion: The weight P being 99 tuns, and three times farther from the center of motion A than L, the weight L muſt be 297 tuns, to balance the weight P of 99 tuns, and muſt be raiſed gradually from Q to the center of motion A, to make her truly boyant. Therefore, ſo far as the weight P (being the center of magnitude to the ſugar T) is removed from the center of magnitude *b*, if the hold was full of water, by ſo much ſhe muſt be too ſtiff, and ought likewiſe to be raiſed to the center of motion A.

Fig. 14. *Suppoſe a ſhip of* 99 *tun weight to be laden with light goods, that you are forced to ſtow ſome of her cargo between decks.*

Let V be light goods in the hold, and B part of the light goods between-decks, L the weight of the goods between decks, *viz.* 30 tuns, and likewiſe the weight of the materials above the floating-deck, *viz.* 6 tuns, which added, makes 36 tuns, and P the weight of the goods in the hold, *viz.* 69 tuns. Now, ſo far as the weight P is drawn towards the center of motion A, from the center of gravity of the goods that ſhould be in the hold, *viz. d*, by ſo much the weight of goods between-decks muſt be added over and above to the weight L, and makes the ſhip too crank; for which reaſon, balaſt muſt be in the bottom of the hold, to make her ſtiffer.

Fig. 15. B repreſents the materials above the floating-deck, L the weight of the materials 6 tuns, W the water in the hold, P the weight of the water in the hold 99 tuns. This proves that the weight P, lying under the center of gravity or magnitude *e*, or between the center of motion A, and the end of the beam or kelſon of the ſhip R, the veſſel muſt be truly boyant

if you pitch your deck in a true height from the Kelſon, otherwiſe ſhe muſt be too ſtiff or too crank. This proves, as before-mentioned, that the water in the hold will divide itſelf naturally into ſuch equal parts, from R to the center of motion A, as no dry goods can be made to conform to. Therefore water is the moſt proper cargo to make a ſhip truly boyant; and in all other lading the goods will be either above or below the center of motion A.

Now, when the reader comes to be convinced by demonſtration, that what has been above delivered is matter of fact, I hope there will be no room for any farther objections.

I ſhall in the next place repreſent this veſſel in as great ſtreſs of weather as I hope ſhe ever will be, and demonſtrate that ſhe is then as ſafe as any ſhip whatſoever.

Fig. 16. A B the upper-deck, D F the floating deck, L K equal with the ſuperficies of the water on which ſhe ſwims when upright, in which is the center of motion ⊙; E B equal with the ſuperficies of the water on which ſhe now ſwims, heeling down to the ſcupper-holes of the upper-deck, and paſſing through the center of motion ⊙ as before; therefore, ſo deep as the floating-deck is ſunk down under water by

the weight of timber, iron, rigging, &c. as D L, or F K, ſo deep is the water in the well as G ⊙, Obſerve, although all between-decks, as A B D F is cavity and dry, and holds 137 tuns, 13 hundred, 2 quarters, and 8 pounds; yet nevertheleſs, the whole veſſel being ſunk to L K, and ſupported on the outſide by a trapezium of water, as before ſhewed, the real cavity between-decks, as L A, K B, meaſures but 99 tuns, 8 hundred, 2 quarters, and 4 pounds.

Now, conſidering how the veſſel is borne down on one ſide, by the ſails on the maſt C, in a violent ſtorm, the point K, being the height of the water on the outſide when upright, will be preſſed under water as deep as B, and forms a new horizontal line E ⊙ B, on which ſhe now ſwims; and by conſequence muſt form the triangle ⊙ B K, whoſe baſe ⊙ K is 8 foot, (the ¼ of L K thwartſhips) and the perpendicular K B, the depth between-decks, from the ſuperficies of the water to the upper deck, is 4 foot 6 inches, whoſe ſuperficies ⊙ K B is 18 foot; the length of the ſloop from ſtem to ſtern 50 foot, which, multiplied by the ſuperficies ⊙ K B 18 foot, makes 900 cubic feet; which ſaid 900 feet multiplied by 64.25, the weight of a cubic foot of ſalt water, the product is 5782 pounds, or 25 tuns, 16 hundred, 1 quarter and 5 pounds. Now let any ſea-faring man judg

how great ſuch a ſtorm muſt be, to heel a veſſel of her burden up to her ſcupper-holes, when there is almoſt 26 tuns of cavity, equal in weight to ſalt water of the ſame magnitude, to preſs down to B, beſides her weight in the hold. All the water (by ſuch a heel) that is emptied out of the hold, is comprehended in the triangle E H D; which is ſo inconſiderable, that it is not worth taking notice of; becauſe what air is taken in at ſuch a time will be forced out at the air-pipes, when the veſſel rightens again. So conſidering the condition of this veſſel, and of another laden with dry goods, we are as ſafe as any ſhip whatſoever; for all ſhips can but move upon the center of Motion; and when ſhe is forced by the wind on one ſide, ſhe can preſs no greater weight of water than the cavity (that is preſſed down under water) will hold.

The next thing incumbent on us is to prove, that ſuch a veſſel freighted with water and fiſh, and a current running through her at command, will feel her helm, and ſteer as well as any veſſel whatſoever, if her rudder be made in proportion to her burthen, and properly fixed. This becomes neceſſary from a received notion, that this veſſel, whoſe lading is only water and fiſh, will neither ſteer nor ſail.

To obviate this objection, it muſt be well underſtood, that no ſhip will ſteer but in a cur-

rent in a contrary direction to that of the ſhip; that is to ſay, the helm muſt oppoſe or preſs againſt the body of water in which the veſſel works, to make her alter her way or courſe.

We will conſider this, *1ſt*, in a ſtanding water; *2dly*, againſt a current; and, *3dly*, with a current.

Fig. 17. Suppoſe D H to be a ſtanding water, and the veſſel makes her way from D towards H. Now the veſſel's motion preſſes the rudder B againſt the body of water D, by which means the veſſel is thruſt round at the ſtern on the center A.

2dly, If ſhe ſails againſt a current, as, ſuppoſe the current runs from H towards D, and the veſſel ſails from D towards H, if ſhe makes any or no way through the current, or falls a-ſtern, yet if her head be to the current, ſhe will ſteer; becauſe the rudder B preſſes againſt the current H D at D, and turns the veſſel in the ſame manner as aforeſaid.

3dly, Suppoſe a veſſel ſails with a current, as from D towards H; if ſhe hath not more way than the current, ſhe cannot ſteer, becauſe the motion of the ſhip is ſlower than the current of water, which makes it impoſſible the rudder B ſhould preſs any weight of water before it, to make

make the veſſel ſteer. But if the ſhip's motion be faſter than the current, the rudder B, by its moving faſter than the current D H, will collect a weight of water at D, and ſteer as before.

I think it will be proper to take the ſloop (as at *Fig.* 17.) out of the water, and examine where her imperfections can be, that ſhe will not (as reported) ſail and ſteer as well as any other veſſel. Firſt, I think it proper to enquire into the reaſon, according to Nature and Philoſophy, why any ſhip, ſloop, or other veſſel, ought to be built broader at the bows than at the ſtern, and likewiſe cleaner abaft than before, if you intend ſhe ſhall ſteer or ſail well.

Suppoſe *Fig.* 18. to be the hull of a ſhip or ſloop. The triangle A is the moſt part of it dead wood, that is worked and filled up with ſolid timbers, and no thicker than the ſtern-poſt, on which the rudder hangs; but from thence (being ſkinned over with plank) it grows wider and wider, to the whole breadth of the bulge at C, which they call a clean tail; and from the ſtem at E it is ſomewhat cleaned off underneath; that by the ſhip's preſſing forward, her broad bows at E will contract the water, like a current, to the clean tale at A, and cauſe the rudder B to preſs againſt it, which is the cauſe of her

her ſteering. This is the caſe of all ſhips whatſoever.

Now, in our ſloop, the water running through her in a contrary direction to that of the ſloop, vents itſelf on each ſide of the ſtern-poſt; which ſaid current, if the rudder B is on the ſtarboard or larboard tack, muſt ſtrike the ſaid rudder; and by ſo much as the weight and force of water preſs out of the hold, and are ſtopped by by the rudder, by ſo much the quicker ſhe will anſwer her helm.

But ſuppoſing (though far from granting) that ſhe will not ſteer ſo well with the current running through her, we can (upon a lee ſhore, or any other occaſion) immediately ſtop all the ſluices 'fore and aft', and make her a whole veſſel, as of the ordinary form; and again, by opening the ſluices, in the ſpace of half a minute, we can relieve our fiſh with a full freſh ſupply of water. We ſay, were it ſo (as we aſſert it is not) it would be great injury to value this veſſel like a WELL-BOAT, wherein fiſh cannot have freſh ſupplies of water, perhaps, in a month or ſix weeks together; and which is no other than a vehicle to bring fiſh waſting alive, and to be delivered ſick and decayed, inſtead of (what is much better) freſh and juſt dead.

Now farther, as to her ſailing ſo well as another ſhip; the nature of the cargo (water and fiſh)

fiſh) hath been ſufficiently explained already, and (made appear) are in the hold, in regard to the ſhip, better than dry goods; and if a fiſh-veſſel of this kind is built in its true proportion, ſhe will ſail as well as any merchant-man whatſoever; but miſtakes and inadvertencies often happen to veſſels, for want of knowing the true reaſon of things; and particularly why a veſſel ought to be broader before than abaft, which is demonſtrated in *Fig.* 18. Suppoſe D and F to be two pyramids, by 2 lines at the ends; force them equally, the pyramid D will move faſter than F; becauſe the great end moves or forces but little weight of water more than the cube of the ſquare at the end doth contain. But the pyramid F moves with the point forward, like a wedge, preſſing as much water as its own ſolid body contains.

This proves how cautious perſons ought to be how they pinch in a veſſel before, and leave her too broad abaft; for certainly nothing can be more hurtful to the ſailing of a ſhip, than a neglect in this particular.

Thus we hope to have fully cleared the ſuſpicion, which is grounded only on the circumſtance of the water paſſing through her hold, that ſhe will not ſteer or ſail; for ſhe has, you ſee, an advantage in the current paſſing through her, for feeling her helm quicker, and conſequently,

quently, as we have juſt now ſhewn, is more likely to ſteer readily than any other ſhip; if it be now remembered alſo that we have before proved, that water is a better and ſafer lading than dry goods, we need only add concerning the ſteerage of our ſloop, that whether our ſkilful and ingenious builders, Mr. FRENCH and Mr. WILLIAMSON, or any other, ſhall build a veſſel of the common ſtructure, they will be as unable to anſwer for her ſteering or ſailing better or worſe than any other veſſel that ſhall be named, as they muſt be as to one of this ſort. From all which it appears, that there is nothing particularly diſadvantageous in our ſloop, as to her capacity for ſteering or ſailing.

The laſt thing we conſidered was, how to ſupply the fiſh with conſtant freſh air and water; and to limit the water, ſo that the currents through the hold ſhall be no ſtronger at one time than at another, by which means the fiſh will be as eaſy in a ſtorm as in a calm. This is effected by ſluices in the hold, that ſtop and let go the water through it, to the 10th part of an inch. But becauſe this is to done by the run of the ſloop, meaſured by a log-line, we think it proper, in the firſt place, to inform you what the log-line is that meaſures the diſtances run at ſea, and how the knots are knit at their true diſtances,

diſtances, by which we regulate the flux of water into the hold.

Note, That the equator is divided into 360 degrees, and each degree into 60 parts called miles: and the diſtance on any meridian is divided likewiſe into the ſame equal parts as the equator, *viz.* 60 miles or parts to a degree. This does not anſwer our Engliſh meaſure, but is neareſt the Italian of 5000 Engliſh feet to a mile, and 60 ſuch miles to a degree. But ſince it hath been found by Mr. NORWOOD, by an obſervation made between London and York, and meaſured by a chain between thoſe two places, found it to be 69 miles, a half, and 14 foot to a degree of latitude, therefore the ſame muſt be a degree of longitude on the equator. Neither could this be true, if the angles on the roads were not exactly taken by an inſtrument, and by the ſaid angles and diſtances find the difference of latitude, and eaſt and weſt meridian-diſtances of the two places, in the nature of a ſhip's traverſe.

Now it is believed by moſt, that Mr. Norwood's computation is the beſt and trueſt that ever was made; yet notwithſtanding all this, moſt divide the log-line in ſuch proportion as before-mentioned, that 5000 Engliſh feet make $\frac{1}{60}$ part, or a mile on the equator. But Mr. Nor-

Norwood makes it to be 6116 Engliſh feet to $\frac{1}{60}$ part, or a mile, on any meridian, or the equator.

Now conſidering the log-line to be meaſured by a half-minute glaſs, which is the $\frac{1}{120}$ part of an hour; divide Mr. Norwood's mile, *viz.* 6116 feet by 120, the quotient is almoſt 51 feet between knot and knot on the line; but if you divide the old calculation, *viz.* 5000, by 120, the quotient is but 41.66 feet between knot and knot; but they commonly knit 42, which muſt be very falſe, or elſe the famous Mr. Norwood was out in his obſervations, which could not well be, if he had good inſtruments to take his angles, an exact chain to meaſure the diſtances, and a quadrant of a large radius for an obſervation.

It is by this log-line we govern the current, or the courſe of the water through this ſloop, according to the ſhip's way; for, by ſo much as ſhe will run faſter or ſlower, by ſo much is the current in the hold faſter or ſlower.

Fig. 19. repreſents a circle divided into 8 parts; 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, are the knots the ſhip runs; A, the hand, to move to thoſe knots. This circle is fixed between-decks, over the ſluices before. At 10 knots the ſluices are quite cloſe, and will not admit of a gallon of water

water into the hold in ſix hours; but move the hand A backward from 10 to 10, the ſluices are quite open, and let in the whole current of water. If the ſhip runs 3, 4, 5, &c. knots, or $3\frac{1}{4}$, $3\frac{1}{2}$, or any of the reſt; move the hand A to the knots, halves, or quarters, it opens or ſhuts the ſluices with immediate readineſs, and is managed with the ſame eaſe as the hand of a clock; without which contrivance the fiſh muſt have had perpetual diſturbance, and been driven all together, as in a net, and ſtifled for want of air. The ſluices abaft are likewiſe cloſed or opened at pleaſure, as we ſhall ſee convenient.

We muſt deſire the world to excuſe us from diſcovering how this contrivance in the hold is framed; for we are conſtrained by prudential reaſons to conceal it for ſome time.

It is now our buſineſs to proceed to an explanation of an engine for carrying fiſh alive by land, and deſcribe the contrivance of it, which we conceive to be as well ſupported by reaſon and the laws of mechaniſm, as that for the conveyance of fiſh by ſea.

The Deſcription *of a carriage to convey Fiſh alive to any part by land, keeping a conſtant current of water through it.* See fig. 20.

A, the ciſtern to hold the fiſh, being 4 foot 6 inches long, 2 foot 9 inches broad, and the whole depth 2 foot 3 inches, but in water 1 foot 6 inches; it will hold 138.8 gallons, weight 1160 pounds, or 10 hundred 1 quarter and 12 pounds Averdupois weight; F, the fountain to ſupply the ciſtern with water, as faſt as it is pumped up by the wheel of the carriage, being 2 foot nine inches long, 1 foot 3 inches broad, and 1 foot 3 inches deep, meaſures 32.14 gallons, wine meaſure, weight 268 pounds, or 2 hundred 1 quarter and 16 pounds Averdupois weight; D, the pump fixed in the ciſtern; E, the nozel of the pump; C, an iron bar faſtened to the rod of the pump, which ſaid rod is forced up by 3 tappets, faſtened to the ſtock of the wheel, as P, Q, *&c.* and B, a large tap, to draw out all the old water, when an opportunity ſerves to fill with freſh.

Now it is plain, as the carriage is drawn along, the motion of the wheels muſt pump the water out of the ciſtern A, which contains the fiſh, into the fountain F, which, by ſo much as the ſaid fountain is higher than the ciſtern, by

ſo

ſo much the weight of water muſt preſs through the ſmall holes out of the bottom of the fountain F, into the ciſtern A, which muſt of neceſſity keep the water always in motion, to the relief of the fiſh; but at all opportunities on the road, we ſhall draw out, at the tap B, all the ſtale water, and fill the fountain and ciſtern with freſh river or running water. This carriage hath been proved by a carriage made in the like form, wherein were put ſmall fiſhes, and kept there ſeven weeks; but when we ſtopped the current for ſome time, we found them to grow ſick, and one or two die; but when the water was put in motion, we could perceive thoſe ſtill living to revive and grow briſk. By this we concluded, that according to the number of fiſhes in the carriage, the water would ſooner or later corrupt; which likewiſe proves our aſſertion in the FISH-POOL ſloop.

We have gone through the illuſtration and proof of our deſign, as to the reaſonableneſs of it; it remains only that we ſay ſomething concerning its uſefulneſs; upon which ſubject, it is neither graceful or neceſſary to ſay much, but the thing ſpeaks itſelf; and when we conſider what injury is received by tormenting land-animals, and how the corruption of their bodies is haſtened by chaſing and driving them, we may eaſily conceive, that the miſerable and

painful way, in which fiſh for a much longer time, are conveyed in WELL-BOATS, muſt have ſuitable unhealthy effects: That ſo delicious a food as that of ſea-animals, brought alive and in health to our very kitchens, wherever we reſide, cannot but be as welcome and beneficial to all mankind, as well as fortunate to the undertakers, as any invention that has been brought into practice for many ages.

Neither can this deſign have any ill conſequences upon the FISHING TRADE in general; ſince all men, upon very eaſy terms, may be admitted into the uſe of this machine, in ſuch a manner, as that the perſons already engaged in it may have no reaſon to complain, and all the reſt of the world have very great and unexpected benefit by it.

The lowering the price of fiſh will abundantly make up to the ſellers of it, by the much greater number of purchaſers; and if a man gets ten pound by ſelling what coſt him five, to twenty people, he will be in a better condition, than when he made ſeven pounds of five, by ſelling the commodity which coſt him that ſum, to fifteen, ten, or five perſons: for it is certain, that when a better commodity can be had for a lower price, the number of new purchaſers will more than make up for the abatement of the price formerly given by a few.

But notwithſtanding the plain proof of the reaſonableneſs of this deſign, which has been here made in theory, and the practice of it in little experiments; we muſt not expect the world will be fully convinced of the truth and uſefulneſs of it, till we have actually preſented them with fiſh imported in great quantities this way. But we thought it incumbent upon us to explain ourſelves before we expoſed men to the hazard of the ſeas on ſo new a projection: for ſhould it ſo happen (which God forbid!) that this veſſel ſhould come to any diſaſter in circumſtances which would be equally dangerous to any veſſel of the ordinary ſtructure; it would be attributed to the novelty of her make, and never acknowledged, that any other ſhip in that ſituation would have equally ſuffered.

But it is time to fear that we are falling into the natural infirmity of being too fond of our own productions; we therefore (begging leave to annex the patent which his Majeſty has been graciouſly pleaſed to give for the uſe of this invention for the ordinary term in ſuch caſes) ſubmit the whole matter, with great humility, to the conſideration of the publick.

GEORGE R.

GEORGE, by the Grace of God, &c. To all to whom theſe Preſents ſhall come, Greeting.

WHEREAS our truſty and well-beloved ſubject, Sir RICHARD STEELE, Knt. hath, by his petition, humbly repreſented unto us, that he has, for ſome years laſt paſt, turned the intention and bent of his thoughts and ſtudies to the good and ſervice of the publick; and that he has, from much ſearch, enquiry, and converſation, among ſundry artiſts, artificers, and perſons of learning, at great expence, invented a certain veſſel, which, by the ſtructure thereof, can bring fiſh, wherever caught, to any diſtant place, alive and in health; which will greatly contribute to the general good of all our ſubjects; humbly praying us to grant him our royal letters patents, for the ſole uſe and benefit of his ſaid invention for the ſpace of fourteen years: *Know ye*, That We (being willing to give encouragement to arts and inventions that may be of public uſe and benefit), of our eſpecial grace, certain knowledge, and meer motion, have given and granted, and by theſe preſents, for Us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, do give and grant, unto the ſaid Sir RICHARD STEELE, his executors, adminiſtrators, and aſſigns, eſpecial licence, full power,

power, ſole privilege and authority, that He the ſaid Sir RICHARD STEELE, his executors, adminiſtrators, and aſſigns, and every of them, by himſelf or themſelves, or by his deputy or deputies, ſervants or agents, or ſuch others as he the ſaid Sir RICHARD STEELE, his executors, adminiſtrators, or aſſigns, ſhall at any time agree with, and no others, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, during the ſaid term of fourteen years, ſhall and lawfully may exerciſe, work, uſe and enjoy, the ſaid new invention of making and uſing ſuch veſſel or veſſels aforeſaid, which, by the ſtructure thereof, can bring fiſh, whereever caught, to any diſtant place alive and in health, in ſuch manner as to him the ſaid Sir RICHARD STEELE, his executors, adminiſtrators, and aſſigns, or any of them, ſhall in their diſcretions ſeem meet: And that he the ſaid Sir RICHARD STEELE, his executors, adminiſtrators, and aſſigns, ſhall and may have and enjoy the whole profit, benefit, commodity, and advantage, from time to time coming, growing, accruing, and ſo ariſing, by reaſon of the ſaid invention; to have, hold, exerciſe, and enjoy the ſaid licence, powers, privileges, and advantages herein before mentioned, to be hereby granted unto the ſaid Sir RICHARD STEELE, his executors, adminiſtrators, and aſſigns, for and during and unto the full end and term of fourteen

years from the date of theſe preſents, next and immediately enſuing, and fully to be compleat and ended, according to the ſtatute in that caſe made and provided. And to the intent that the ſaid Sir RICHARD STEELE, his executors, adminiſtrators, and aſſigns, and every of them, may have and enjoy the full benefit and advantage, and the ſole uſe and exerciſe of the ſaid invention, according to our gracious intention herein before declared, We do, by theſe preſents, for Us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, require and ſtrictly command all and every perſon and perſons, bodies politic and corporate, and all other our ſubjects whatſoever, of what eſtate, quality, degree, name, or condition ſoever they be, within that part of our ſaid kingdom of Great Britain called England, our dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick upon Tweed, that neither they nor any of them, at any time, during the ſaid term of fourteen years, either directly or indirectly, do make, uſe, exerciſe, or put in practice, the ſaid invention, or any part of the ſame, ſo attained unto by the ſaid Sir RICHARD STEELE, as aforeſaid; or ſhall in any wiſe counterfeit, imitate, or reſemble the ſame; nor ſhall make or cauſe to be made any addition thereto, or ſubſtraction from the ſame, whereby to pretend himſelf or themſelves the inventor or inventors, deviſor or deviſors thereof, without the licence, conſent,

conſent, or agreement of the ſaid Sir RICHARD STEELE, his executors, adminiſtrators, or aſſigns, in writing under his or their hands and ſeals firſt had and obtained in that behalf, upon ſuch pains and penalties as can or may be juſtly inflicted on ſuch offenders, for their contempt of this our royal command; and farther, to be anſwerable unto the ſaid Sir RICHARD STEELE, his executors, adminiſtrators, and aſſigns, according to law, for all damages which he or they ſhall or may ſuſtain thereby. And moreover, we do by theſe preſents, for Us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, will and command all and ſingular our juſtices of the peace, mayors, ſheriffs, bailiffs, conſtables, headboroughs, and all other officers and miniſters whatſoever, of Us, our heirs and ſucceſſors for the time being, that they or any of them do not or ſhall not at any time hereafter, during the ſaid term hereby granted, in any wiſe moleſt, trouble, or hinder the ſaid Sir RICHARD STEELE, his executors, adminiſtrators, or aſſigns, or any of them, or his, their, or any of their deputies, ſervants, or agents, in or about the exerciſe of the ſaid invention, or any thing relating thereunto. *Provided always*, and theſe our letters patents are and ſhall be upon this condition, That if at any time during the ſaid term hereby granted, it

ſhall be made appear to Us, our heirs or ſucceſſors, or any ſix or more of our or their privy-council, that this our grant is contrary to law, or prejudicial or inconvenient to our ſubjects in general; or that the ſaid invention in not a new invention, as to the public uſe and exerciſe thereof, within that part of our ſaid kingdom of Great-Britain called England, our dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick upon Tweed, or not invented and found out by the ſaid Sir RICHARD STEELE, as aforeſaid; Then, upon ſignification and declaration thereof, to be made by Us, our heirs or ſucceſſors, under our or their ſignet or privy-ſeal, or by the Lords and others of our or their privy-council, or any ſix or more of them, under their hands; theſe our letters patents ſhall forthwith ceaſe, determine, and be utterly void to all intents and purpoſes, any thing herein before contained to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding. *Provided alſo*, that theſe our letters patents, or any thing herein contained, ſhall not extend or be conſtrued to extend to give privilege to the ſaid Sir RICHARD STEELE, his executors, adminiſtrators, or aſſigns, or any of them, to uſe, or imitate, any invention or work whatſoever, which hath heretofore been found out, or invented, by any other of our ſubjects whatſoever,

ever, and publicly uſed or enjoyed within that part of our kingdom of Great Britain called England, our dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick upon Tweed, unto whom like letters patents, or privileges, have been already granted, as aforeſaid; Our royal will and pleaſure being, that ſuch other our ſubjects, and the ſaid Sir RICHARD STEELE, his executors, adminiſtrators, and aſſigns, ſhall diſtinctly uſe and practiſe their ſeveral inventions, by them invented and found out, according to the true intent and meaning of the ſame reſpective letters patents, and of theſe preſents. *And laſtly*, We do by theſe preſents, for Us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, grant unto the ſaid Sir RICHARD STEELE, his executors, adminiſtrators, and aſſigns, that theſe our letters patents, or the enrollment thereof, ſhall be in and by all things good, firm, valid, and effectual in the law; and ſhall be taken, conſtrued, and adjudged in the moſt favourable and beneficial ſenſe, and for the beſt advantage of the ſaid Sir RICHARD STEELE, his executors, adminiſtrators, and aſſigns, as well in all courts of record as elſewhere, and by all and ſingular the officers and miniſters whatſoever, of Us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, within that part of our ſaid kingdom of Great Britain called England, our dominion

of

of Wales, and town of Berwick upon Tweed, and amongſt all and every the ſubjects of Us, our heirs, and ſucceſſors whatſoever and whereſoever; notwithſtanding the not full and certain deſcribing the nature and quality of the ſaid invention, or of the materials thereto conducing and belonging. *In Witneſs, &c.*

Witneſs, &c.

P. 212. l. 6. *for* "62,75," *r.* "62,5 pounds."
P. 217. l. 4. *for* "982," *r.* 966, 5 cubick feet."

THE

THE PLEBEIAN*,

By SIR RICHARD STEELE.

"Quiſquis erit vitæ ſcribam color."

HOR. 2 Sat. i. 60.

I ſtill muſt write, whatever be my doom.

DUNCOMBE.

WITH

THE OLD WHIG†.

By MR. ADDISON.

* Originally printed in quarto, price 6d. each number, and publiſhed by S. Popping, at the Black Raven, in Pater-noſter Row, where Letters directed for the Plebeian were taken in.

† Originally publiſhed in quarto, price 6d. each number, by J. Roberts, in Warwick-Lane; and A. Dodd, at the Peacock, without Temple-Bar.

*** "In 1718-19, a controverſy was agitated, with great vehemence, between thoſe friends of long continuance, ADDISON and STEELE. It may be aſked, in the language of Homer, what power or what cauſe could ſet them at variance. The ſubject of their diſpute was of great importance. The earl of Sunderland propoſed an act called the PEERAGE BILL, by which the number of peers ſhould be fixed, and the king reſtrained from any new creation of nobility, unleſs when an old family ſhould be extinct. To this the lords would naturally agree; and the king, who was yet little acquainted with his own prerogative, and, as is now well known, almoſt indifferent to the poſſeſſions of the crown, had been perſuaded to conſent. The only difficulty was found among the commons, who were not likely to approve the perpetual excluſion of themſelves and their poſterity. The bill therefore was eagerly oppoſed, and among others by Sir Robert Walpole, whoſe ſpeech was publiſhed. The lords might think their dignity diminiſhed by improper advancements, and particularly by the introduction of twelve new peers at once, to produce a majority of Tories in the laſt reign; an act of authority violent enough, yet certainly legal, and by no means to be compared with that contempt of national

national right, with which ſome time afterwards, by the inſtigation of Whiggiſm, the commons, choſen by the people for three years, choſe themſelves for ſeven. But, whatever might be the diſpoſition of the lords, the people had no wiſh to increaſe their power. The tendency of the bill, as STEELE obſerved in a letter to the earl of Oxford, was to introduce an Ariſtocracy, for a majority in the houſe of lords, ſo limited, would have been deſpotick and irreſiſtible. To prevent this ſubverſion of the ancient eſtabliſhment, STEELE, whoſe pen readily ſeconded his political paſſions, endeavoured to alarm the nation by a pamphlet called the PLEBEIAN. To this an anſwer was publiſhed by ADDISON under the title of the OLD WHIG, in which it is not diſcovered that STEELE was then known to be the advocate for the Commons. STEELE replied by a ſecond PLEBEIAN; and, whether by ignorance or by courteſy, confined himſelf to his queſtion, without any perſonal notice of his opponent. Nothing hitherto was committed againſt the laws of friendſhip, or proprieties of decency; but controvertiſts cannot long retain their kindneſs for each other. The OLD WHIG anſwered the PLEBEIAN, and could not forbear ſome contempt of *Little Dicky, whoſe trade it was to write pamphlets. Dicky* however did not loſe his ſettled veneration for his

his friend; but contented himſelf with quoting ſome lines of Cato, which were at once detection and reproof. The bill was laid aſide during that ſeſſion; and Addiſon died before the next, in which its commitment was rejected by two hundred ſixty-five to one hundred ſeventy-ſeven. Every reader ſurely muſt regret that theſe two illuſtrious friends, after ſo many years paſt in confidence and endearment, in unity of intereſt, conformity of opinion, and fellowſhip of ſtudy, ſhould finally part in acrimonious oppoſition. Such a controverſy was *Bellum pluſquam civile*, as Lucan expreſſes it. Why could not faction find other advocates? But, among the uncertainties of the human ſtate, we are doomed to number the inſtability of friendſhip.

Of this diſpute I have little knowledge but from the *Biographia Britannica*. The *Old Whig* is not inſerted in Addiſon's works, nor is it mentioned by Tickell in his Life. Why it was omitted the biographers doubtleſs give the true reaſon; the fact was too recent, and thoſe who had been heated in the contention were not yet cool."

DR. JOHNSON.

THE

THE PLEBEIAN,

By a Member of the Houſe of Commons.

N° I. SATURDAY, MARCH 14, 1718-19.

CONSIDERATIONS UPON THE REPORTS RELATING TO THE PEERAGE.

"—Hoc miſeræ Plebi—commune Sepulchrum."
HOR. 1 Sat. viii. 10.

In this deteſted ground
A common tomb the vulgar found. FRANCIS.

ALL men in high ſtations have their enemies, who are ready to ſuggeſt on every occaſion whatever may tend to leſſen their credit, and make them odious to the publick. The perſons at preſent in great authority have been purſued by this Evil Spirit; but it would be unjuſt to give too eaſy belief to the inſinuations of malicious people. At the beginning of this ſeſſion it was reported with much aſſurance, that a wonderful diſcovery was made, that all the charters of England were forfeited into the hands of the Crown; and this happy incident, as they called it, was to afford an opportunity of introducing a law much for the public ſervice. But this was ſo far from being true, that the bill which came down from the houſe of Peers was a con-

a confirmation of the charters, without ſo much as a declaration of any forfeiture. Perhaps it might have been true, that ſome little lawyer had found out ſome mean chicane in law, worthy enough of the purſuit of ſuch a perſon, in a private corporation-ſquabble; but ſuch a project, in order to a univerſal forfeiture, could never have weight with any judicious man whatever. Nobody could be ſo very a novice in buſineſs, or ſo extravagant in politicks, as to put his Majeſty upon an undertaking, which contributed more towards the ruin of king James, than any one thing, or perhaps than every thing elſe beſides. When this report was blown over, the next thing inſinuated to the publick was a deſign of making a jeſt of what juſtice has been accidentally done to the nation, by repealing the attainder of one of the greateſt offenders of the late reign. It is very certain no ſuch attempt will be now made. There has been a juſt indignation ſhewn already at the bare mention of it, and it is unfair to charge any particular perſon with having had any ſuch intention; much leſs ſhould a ſcandalous diſcourſe gain credit, that any great officer belonging to his Majeſty would correſpond abroad with an attainted fugitive, intercede for him at home, and even proſtitute the character of an ambaſſador ſo low, as to become the meſſenger of a traitor. Theſe

two unjuſt accuſations were laid at the door of ſome great people at the beginning, and towards the middle of this ſeſſion; and now at the end of it, the publick is alarmed at the report of another deſign of a more dangerous nature than either of thoſe already mentioned. But as thoſe former reports have not proved true, ſo I doubt not but this will likewiſe vaniſh in the ſame manner. However, as I was ready to have appeared in publick on either of the former occaſions, if there had been a neceſſity for it; ſo, if I am a little more forward in the preſent affair, I hope the importance of it will juſtify me: and if I ſhould loſe my labour, I ſhall however ſhew that good intention for the ſervice of my Sovereign and my fellow-ſubjects with which I have always expoſed myſelf at a dangerous criſis.

It is affirmed by ſome people, that a bill will be offered to the Houſe of Commons, in which the preſent 16 Peers of Scotland are to be made hereditary, to the excluſion of their electors, and 9 more added upon the ſame foot; and 6 more are to be added to the number of Engliſh peers; and then the Crown is to be reſtrained from making any new Lords but upon the extinction of familes.

At firſt ſight, this propoſal muſt appear very ſhocking; it carries with it ſo great an alter-

ation of the conſtitution; it implies ſo direct a breach of the Union, and of natural juſtice; and encroaches ſo much upon the prerogative of the Crown.

As to what relates to the Scottiſh Peerage, I muſt confeſs I am at a loſs to ſay any thing to it. If the moſt ſolemn contract betwixt two Nations is to be violated; if perſons are to be deprived of their right without being heard, and without any pretence of forfeiture; if thoſe, who have a power intruſted to them by their principals only for a few years, can ſeize it to themſelves and their poſterity for ever; what uſe will be made of power ſo acquired, I leave every one to judge.

The ſhutting up the door of the Houſe of Lords, in the manner talked of, cannot but prove a great diſcouragement to virtuous actions, to learning and induſtry, and very detrimental to the Houſe of Peers itſelf, by preventing ſuch frequent ſupplies from going into it as the nature of ſuch a body requires; for want of which, it may in time become corrupt and offenſive, like a ſtagnated pool, which hitherto has been preſerved wholeſome and pure by the freſh ſtreams that paſs continually into it.

I am not unaware that it will be ſaid, *That the frequent extinctions of families will ſalve this inconvenience, and make room for the rewarding of Merit.*

Merit. But this expedient, I fear, is not much to be depended on; for the uncertainty of the time when the Crown will have any ſuch power, will make it much the ſame as if it was never to have it at all. Beſides, it is to be conſidered, that the patrons of this propoſal argue vehemently for it, *on account, that this will be a means to eaſe the Crown from the great importunity of Pretenders to Peerage.* If ſo, it is certain in what manner they will proceed in all vacancies, which will be by filling them up inſtantly; or elſe the inconvenience would be increaſed as to importunity, and not diminiſhed. This being the caſe, it is very evident by what ſort of people thoſe vacancies will be ſupplied; undoubtedly by the creatures and relations of thoſe Peers who have at that time the greateſt influence in the Houſe, and whoſe requeſts to the Throne will very much reſemble *demands*; and this honour, in all probability, will only be thought proper for their own families. An inſtance of this we have in the diſtinction of the Garter. At the firſt inſtitution of that order, and till of late years, ſeveral Commoners had the honour (as the reward of merit) to be of that noble body: but at preſent it would be looked upon as a high preſumption in any Commoner to pretend to it, let his ſervices be never ſo great.

But another conſequence, of a much higher nature, attending the limitation of the number of Peers, is the danger there will be of changing the Conſtitution by this means into an Ariſtocracy; and this may at any time in ſuch caſe be effected by the confederacy of two or three great families, which would form ſuch a body amongſt the Lords as the Crown would not be able to controul. That this kind of government is one of the worſt ſorts of ſlavery, is too well known to be diſputed. In a Democracy a great many different perſons may come to have a ſhare of power by ſeveral incidents; but in the other ſtate it is birth only that entitles to ſuperiority; and the milk ſuch Nobles are nurſed up with, is hatred and contempt for every human creature but thoſe of their own imaginary dignity.

Theſe being ſome of the inconveniences and hazards which naturally occur upon this propoſal, let us ſee what are the advantages which on the other hand, it is ſaid, will flow from it.

Firſt, "That this will be a bar upon the "Crown, and prevent the King upon the throne "from flinging-in a great number of Lords on "a ſudden, only to anſwer a preſent purpoſe, "as the late Queen once did."

Secondly, "That it will be a means to keep "property or great eſtates in the Houſe of "Com-

" Commons, from whence they are generally " drawn out into the Houſe of Peers."

Theſe are ſaid to be ſuch plain Whig-points, as no Whig can oppoſe.

Whiggiſm, if I underſtand it aright, is a deſire of Liberty, and a ſpirit of Oppoſition to all exorbitant Power in any part of the Conſtitution. Formerly the danger on this account was from the Crown; but ſince the Habeas Corpus Act, and the many Reſtraints laid upon the Crown in King William's Time, and the great and numerous Limitations of the Succeſſion Acts, the Prerogative of the Crown is reduced ſo low, that it is not at all dangerous to the Commons. Beſides, the Crown has frequent occaſions for the aſſiſtance of the Commons; but the Lords never. The Lords are judges of the property of the Commons in the laſt reſort; and even in caſes where they themſelves are concerned, they have their actions *de Scandalis Magnatum*, and exerciſe a power of impriſoning, not confined within any very certain boundaries. And therefore the chief circumſpection of the Commons ought to be employed at preſent, that thoſe who have ſo much power already do not get more than the Commons will be able to withſtand in any manner. I confeſs the making a great number of Lords on a ſudden has one inconvenience: it may pre-

vent ſome good to the publick, but cannot do any great hurt, and is more grievous in its conſequences to the Crown than to the People. The increaſing the number of Peers is always to be wiſhed for by the Commons, becauſe the greater their number, the leſs conſiderable they become, and the leſs within the influence of Court favours; by which means alone Miniſters are kept in awe, and remain in a ſituation of being called to account for their actions. Were it otherwiſe, they would be out of the reach of any accuſation. They would know exactly by whom they were to be tried, and their Judges might be their accomplices. And ſhould this once come to be the caſe, what might they not attempt with impunity?

On the other hand, if their Lordſhips complain of the great number of Peers as a grievance to themſelves, why are they deſirous any more ſhould be made? If twelve at once was ſo bad a precedent, what is fifteen, taking it in one light? what is thirty-one, if you take it in another?

If, at the Union, ſixteen Scottiſh Noblemen were found to be a juſt proportion to repreſent their whole Nobility, what has happened ſince, to give reaſon to increaſe their number to twenty-five? Why may they not as well a few years hence, eſpecially if the head of a clan is to be taken

taken in, who may not like the ſet of Nobles at that time, demand to be made fifty, to give his followers the majority; and ſo from time to time continue to play the game into each other's hands, as long as there is one Nobleman left in Scotland, or any Civil Liſt in England? If the Commoners of England are to be excluded from the Houſe of Lords, why are they not excluded forthwith? It cannot be ſuppoſed that titles *in petto* are kept on purpoſe to bribe perſons of conſequence in the houſe of Commons, to drive ſuch a bill through that part of the Legiſlature.

Upon the foot the Conſtitution has ſubſiſted many years, the Crown, in all great emergencies relating immediately to itſelf, has been able to fence againſt the Lords by adding to their number, and againſt the Commons by diſſolutions; and in like manner in caſes of difference betwixt the two Houſes. But if ſuch a law as is mentioned above ſhould be made, and any difference happen hereafter betwixt the Crown and the Houſe of Peers, or betwixt the Two Houſes of Parliament, the Crown may not have it in its power to influence the Lords in relation to the Commons. And therefore it muſt be the inevitable conſequence of ſuch a misfortune, that both the Crown and the Commons muſt ſubmit to the Lords. In former times, the

greateſt art and care of the Crown and Miniſters uſed to be the preventing of jealouſies and differences betwixt the two Houſes. This popoſal, I fear, would be raiſing an implacable animoſity and hatred, ſcarce ever to be reconciled.

The great advantage that the number of their body cannot be increaſed, is at preſent the moſt valuable privilege of the Commons, and the only thing that makes them conſiderable. The Lords are poſſeſſed of many great privileges that they will not permit the Commons to ſhare with them; and therefore the Commons would be highly wanting to themſelves, if they ſhould add this advantage likewiſe to the Lords, which is the only one that they enjoy diſtinct from them.

It has been uſed as an argument, by ſome people, for the increaſing the number of the Lords, "That the Crown formerly increaſed the "number of the Commons, in particular in "Queen Elizabeth's reign." But I deſire it may be underſtood, that the ſending members to Parliament at that time was not deſired as a favour, but impoſed as a burden. Queen Elizabeth erected ſeveral new corporations; but then the reaſon for it was, ſhe relieved ſeveral antient and decayed ones from ſending any Members at all.

And

And how little this reſembles the preſent caſe is eaſily perceived.

The other advantage, which it is ſaid will accrue from this propoſal, is, "That it will be "a means to keep property amongſt the Com- "mons."

I cannot ſee that there is occaſion for ſo extraordinary a ſtep as this is, and accompanied with ſo many evils, to procure us this aſſurance. Property or wealth in every age flows faſter back to the Commons by the extinction of families, but much more by the want of œconomy in the Peers, than it is drawn from them by the promotions of the Crown. Beſides, we ſee eſtates are often extinct before families; and property is very rarely increaſed in the Houſe of Peers. Indeed, if a reſtraining bill ſhould paſs, I do not doubt but it would ſoon be followed with a bill to prevent Lords from alienating their eſtates, for which many plauſible reaſons are to be produced; and then, without all diſpute, the balance of property would be ſoon turned on the ſide of their Lordſhips.

Theſe are all the arguments I have heard for this ſuppoſed bill; which is neither a Whig nor a Tory point, but would be a ſcheme that might hereafter ſet up ſome Nobles above the Crown and the Commons both. For as to what is commonly ſaid, That the Lords would get nothing,

thing, no new power would be added to them by this means; I beg leave to ſtate this matter in a proper light. Suppoſe the balance to be now *even* betwixt the Lords and the Crown, as it certainly is, or elſe the Conſtitution would not ſubſiſt in quiet; is it not plain to the moſt common capacity, that when two ſcales are upon an equal poiſe, if you take any weight out of one of them, you give the advantage to the other, without putting any thing into it?

How dangerous it may prove to vary the balance of power in a limited Monarchy, we may learn from the ruin of one of the beſt-founded Governments amongſt the Antients. The original power, the Ephori, in the Lacedæmonian ſtate, were inveſted with, beſides that of being part of the Legiſlature, was chiefly the determining law-matters relating to private contracts, and ſuch-like buſineſs. In the abſence of their Kings they compoſed the Regency: "Regum ab-"ſentum vicarii erant," is the expreſſion made uſe of by Crags, de Rep. Lac. p. 76. But afterwards, upon the diminution of the Regal authority (which indeed was voluntarily complied with by their King, as I ſhall ſhew by and by), their power grew immenſe, "Eorum po-"teſtas in immenſum aucta eſt." Crags, ibid.

They adminiſtered every thing of conſequence: they diſpoſed of the public treaſure: they

they influenced the aſſembly of the people, and made them vote for peace or war, as they thought fit; "Concionem populi regebant; bellum pa-"cemque concionis ſuffragiis ſciſcebant." Ubbo Emius, de Rebus Græcis, p. 293. They made or broke treaties; they raiſed or diſbanded the army. In fine, they had or uſurped the right of rewarding or puniſhing whom and when they pleaſed. At laſt they took upon them to dethrone, or impriſon, or execute, their Kings themſelves. Theopompus, King of Sparta, was adviſed againſt giving way to the diminution of the royal dignity, by which the power of thoſe Magiſtrates grew ſo great: but he declared he did it, to ſettle the government by that means upon a more laſting foundation; "ut diuturniorem "poteſtatem relinqueret." Crags, p. 74.

This unwary ſtep proved fatal both to the Crown and the People, and ended in the ruin of the Conſtitution. Theopompus was one of the moſt virtuous, moſt moderate, and moſt gracious Princes amongſt all the Spartan Kings. It appeared evidently by this very inſtance of his willingneſs to part with the power of the Crown for the good of his People: but for that very reaſon the People ſhould not have ſuffered the authority of the Crown to have been weakened; but ſhould rather have added to it, ſince power could not be lodged any where elſe ſo much

much for their ſafety and advantage. When the Prince had no longer force enough to reſtrain the many-headed Sovereignty, it bore down all that ſtood in its way, as we have heard; and in the end grew ſo inſupportable, that the People, to be delivered from ſo vile a ſlavery, ſubmitted to the uſurpation of a private perſon, who, to the ſatisfaction of revenging them upon their oppreſſors, added this ſingle act of grace: he wiped off all the public debts at once; "ut plebem demulſeret, æs alienum univerſum "delevit." Emmius, p. 349. "Et reſpublica "in Tyrannidem converſa eſt." Crags, p. 72.

Thoſe who are deſirous to conſult the Author himſelf, whom I have chiefly quoted on this occaſion, muſt have recourſe to his book of the Lacedemonian government, printed 1593, apud Petrum Santandreanum. It appears by the dedication of this treatiſe, that he was a follower of the firſt miniſter of the Court of Denmark, upon whom he ſolely depended to make his fortune, "tuo patrocinio ſalus mea conſtituta," Ep. Ded. The character Ubbo Emmius (a great Lawyer of that age, who was a ſort of rival to my Author) gives of Crags, is, That he was a perſon of great boldneſs and induſtry, "auſu & "induſtriâ," Pref. to De Reb. Græc. but not ſo happy in his judgment. But, begging pardon for this digreſſion, which is only intended for the

the curious, and to return to my ſubject. There are other and more modern inſtances, and living Hiſtorians of our own, who can ſatisfy us, that too great a power in the hands of the Nobility has brought on the ruin of many free nations. This was the caſe of Sweden a few years ago, as appears plainly from the very ingenious labours of a venerable Prelate * of the preſent houſe of Peers. This was the caſe of Denmark, of which a very accurate account has been given by a noble Lord † of a neighbouring kingdom, a member of the Houſe of Commons. Nothing

* Dr. John Robinſon, at that time Biſhop of London, had in his younger days been a conſiderable time Envoy at the Court of Sweden; and publiſhed "The Hiſtory of Livonia" in 1706. See further particulars of him in "Biſhop ATTERBURY'S Epiſtolary Correſpondence, "1789," vol. I. p. 436.

† Robert Lord Viſcount Moleſworth was ſent Envoy extraordinary to Denmark by King William in 1692. After a reſidence of three years, ſome particulars in his conduct diſobliging his Daniſh Majeſty, he was forbid the Court. Pretending buſineſs in Flanders, he retired thither without any audience of leave, and came from thence home: where he was no ſooner arrived, than he drew up "an Account of Denmark;" in which he repreſented the government of that country to be arbitrary and tyrannical. This piece was greatly reſented by Prince George of Denmark, conſort to the Princeſs, afterwards Queen Anne; and Scheel, the Daniſh Envoy, firſt preſented a memorial to King William, complaining of it, and then furniſhed materials for an anſwer, which was executed by Dr. William King of the Commons. From King's account it appears, that Moleſworth's offence in Denmark was, his boldly pretending to ſome privileges, which, by the cuſtom of the country, are denied to every body but the King; as travelling the King's road, and hunting the King's game: which being done, as is repreſented, in defiance of oppoſition, occaſioned the rupture between the Envoy and that Court. In the mean time his book was well received by the publick, and tranſlated into ſeveral languages.

can be better writ, or more inſtructive to any one that values liberty, than the narrative of that tragedy in that excellent treatiſe. I wiſh gentlemen would ſee there, how Commoners were treated by the Nobility when they had the power over them. This noble Lord will inform them, that "they laid heavy impoſitions on the Commons at pleaſure; which "weight they themſelves would not touch with "one of their fingers." And when the Commons preſumed to complain, though they were juſt come "from ſaving, from a foreign yoke, "not only the capital city of their country, but "the whole kingdom, the Royal Family, nay "thoſe very Nobles that dealt ſo hardly by "them:" I ſay, when the Commons ventured to complain, let any Engliſhman but hear the anſwer that was given them: "A principal "Senator," ſays his Lordſhip, "ſtood up, and "in great anger told the Preſident of the city, "that the Commons neither underſtood nor "conſidered the privileges of the Nobility, nor "the true condition of themſelves, who were "no other than ſlaves." The Commons, fired with indignation at this treatment, and reſolving, if they were to be ſlaves, to be ſlaves to their Prince, rather than ſlaves to their fellow-ſubjects, inſtantly ſurrendered all their liberties to their King; and the Lords were forced to follow their example

example with ſo much haſte, that "in four "days time that kingdom was changed," ſays my noble and honeſt Author, "to as abſolute a "Monarchy as any in the whole world."

In ſhort, it has been for our antient Conſtitution that we have ſtruggled with ſo much vigour for many years together: it is for that we have poured out a river of Engliſh blood, and a treaſure unheard-of in any former age. This Conſtitution may have its imperfections; but, faulty as it is, our anceſtors have conveyed down Liberty to us through that channel: and we ought to continue it on, as well as we can, to our poſterity, and not give way to the new-modelling ſchemes of every extraordinary genius. It would certainly be new-modelling the Conſtitution in a great meaſure, to take a conſiderable part of what power is left to the Crown from the Crown, and by that means add very much to the power of the Lords.

Beſides, it is to be remembered, that the evil, which may be brought upon the Commons by this means, will be irretrievable. Thoſe perſons deceive themſelves, who think, that if ſuch a law ſhould prove deſtructive, it may be annulled, nothing being more uſual than for one Parliament to repeal the acts of another. This is true in common caſes, becauſe almoſt all laws relate to every part of the Legiſlature, and any inconvenience

venience is felt in ſome meaſure by each of them: but this will be a law which will relate chiefly, nay ſolely, to the Lords; and, whatever injury the Crown or the Commons may receive by it, their Lordſhips will be very ſenſible of the advantage of it to themſelves: and nothing can be more vain, than to imagine that the Commons will be ever able to ſhake off any exorbitant power that the Lords ſhall be once poſſeſſed of, unleſs it be by an univerſal deſtruction, like thoſe juſt mentioned, which will ſwallow Lords and Commons and all Eſtates together. For which reaſons, this project, if it ſhould ever be offered to the Commons, is not only to be oppoſed with all the zeal imaginable, but every ſtep, every attempt towards it, is to be deteſted. He that gives the power of blood, is a murderer; and he that gives the power of tyranny, is a tyrant. I ſhall add but one word more: The greateſt traytor to civil ſociety that ever yet appeared, will be the man, if ſuch a one can be found, who ſhall contend for ſuch a bill, ſhould it be propoſed amongſt the Commons, with the aſſurance in his pocket of being a Peer as ſoon as the bill paſſes: and ſhould he ſucceed (which God forbid!) that honour, which is to be the reward of ſo baſe a treachery, will be a laſting mark of infamy to the family that bears it, whilſt any notion of honeſty remains amongſt mankind.

THE

THE OLD WHIG,

N° I. THURSDAY, MARCH 19, 1718-19.

ON THE STATE OF THE PEERAGE.

WITH

REMARKS UPON THE PLEBEIAN.

" ——— quod optanti Divûm promittere nemo
" Auderet, volvendo dies en attulit ultro."

VIRG. Æn. ix. 7.

What none of all the Gods could grant thy vows,
That, Turnus, this auſpicious day beſtows.

DRYDEN.

I FIND that men, who have turned their thoughts to what is now the great ſubject, not only of our parliamentary debates, but of our private converſation, are apt to complain, it is a matter of ſuch a perplext nature, and admits of ſo many arguments on either ſide, that they are rather bewildered than inſtructed, by what they have heard in diſcourſe, or ſeen in print, upon this occaſion. But, as I think this perplexity does not ariſe in mens minds from the nature of the thing itſelf, ſo much as from the way of handling it, I ſhall endeavour to draw out the whole ſtate of this affair with ſuch brevity and method, as may neither tire

nor puzzle the reader; but carry his thoughts through a ſeries of obſervations and arguments, that will regularly grow out of one another, and ſet this matter in its full light *.

1. Thoſe

* Among the pamphlets occaſioned by the Peerage Bill, we may reckon, "The Thoughts of a Member of the Lower Houſe, in relation to a project for reſtraining and limiting the Power of the Crown, in the future creation of Peers. Printed for J. Roberts, Price 3d."

"Si violandum jus, regnandi cauſa violandum.
"Better to reign in Hell, than ſerve in Heaven.
"Devil's Speech in Milton's Paradiſe Loſt."

Publiſhed March 17, 1718-19. [This was written by Mr. Aſgill.]

"Some Conſiderations relating to the Peerage of Great Britain; wherein the Arguments for the Reaſonableneſs and Expediency of a Bill ſaid to be depending are ſtated pro and con. Printed for Bez. Creake. Price 6d." March 18.

"A Letter from a Member of the Houſe of Commons to a Gentleman without doors, relating to the Bill of Peerage lately brought into the Houſe of Lords; together with two Speeches, for and againſt the Bill, ſuppoſed to be ſpoke in the Houſe of Commons. Printed for J Roberts, Price 1s." March 19.

"Conſiderations concerning the Nature and Conſequences of the Bill now depending in Parliament, relating to the Peerage of Great Britain. In a Letter from one Member of the Houſe to another. Printed for J. Roberts, Price 4d." March 19.

"The OLD WHIG." March 19. [Two Numbers only; both here preſerved.]

"Some Reflections upon a Pamphlet called The OLD WHIG. By the Author of the Thoughts of a Member of the Lower Houſe.

"The Evils that I have done cannot be ſafe
"But by attempting greater; and I find
"A Spirit within me chides my ſluggiſh Hands,
"And ſays, go on." Vid. Catiline's Conſpiracy.
"Flectere ſi nequeo ſuperos, Acheronta movebo.

"Printed for J. Roberts, Price 6d." March 20.

"Two Liſts, ſhewing the alterations that have been made in the Houſe of Commons, from the Beginning of the Reign of King Henry VIII.

1. Thoſe who are thought the beſt writers upon Government, both Antients and Moderns, have unanimouſly agreed in opinion, that the moſt perfect and reaſonable form is a mixt Government, in oppoſition to that of any ſingle perſon, or any ſingle order of men. For whether the Supreme, that is, the Legiſlative Power, be lodged entirely in a Prince, or in an Ariſtocracy, or in a Democracy, it is ſtill looked upon as Tyrannical, and not properly calculated for the happineſs of the whole Community.

2. It is alſo eſtabliſhed as a maxim among Political Writers, that the diviſion of the Supreme or Legiſlative Power is moſt perfect, when it is diſtributed into three branches. If it all

" VIII. to the End of that of King James I. And in the Houſe of Peers, " from the Acceſſion of King James I. to this Time. Printed for J. " Roberts, Price 6d." March 20.

" An exact Liſt of the Peers of Scotland at the Time of the Union. " Printed for J. Morphew, Price 2d." March 21. [This and the preceding article are preſerved in the " Political State, 1719," vol. XVII.]

" Some Conſiderations humbly offered relating to the Peerage of " Great Britain. By a Gentleman.

" Res Italas armis tuteris, moribus ornes,
" Legibus emendes. Hor. Ep. ad Auguſtum, ver. 2.

" Printed for Bez. Creake, Price 6d." March 21.

" The PATRICIAN. To be continued Weekly. N° I. Being Con- " ſiderations on the Peerage. In anſwer to the PLEBEIAN.

" ——that ſins againſt his Reaſon,
" Calls ſawcy loud Sedition Public Zeal,
" And Mutiny the Dictates of his Spirit." Otway's Orphan.

" By one who is neither a Knight, nor a Member of the Houſe of " Commons. Printed for J. Roberts. Price 3d." March 21.

Three other Numbers of this Work appeared, which will all be duly noticed as they ariſe in order of time.

centers in one man, or in a body of men of the ſame quality, it is that form of Government which is called Tyrannical. If it be thrown into two branches, it wants a Caſting Power, and is under ſuch a divided authority as would often draw two different ways; and produce ſome time or other ſuch a diſcord as would expoſe the weaker to that which had moſt ſtrength in it, and by degrees end in a ſingle authority. If it conſiſt of four Branches, it wants likewiſe a Caſting Power, and is liable to the ſame inconveniences as when it is compoſed of Two. And if it be divided into five or more parts, it neceſſarily runs into confuſion, and will not long retain either the form or the name of Government. For this reaſon, three branches in a Legiſlature have been always fixed upon as the proper number; becauſe it affords a Caſting Power, and may moderate any heats in any two contending branches, and overpower the third in caſe it ſhould prove unreaſonable, or refuſe to come into meaſures apparently neceſſary for the good and preſervation of the Community.

3. The moſt natural and equitable diviſion of theſe three branches of the Legiſlature is the Regal, the Noble, and the Plebeian; becauſe the whole Community is caſt under theſe ſeveral heads, and has not in it a ſingle Member who

is

is without his Repreſentative in the Legiſlature of ſuch a Conſtitution.

4. In the next place it is neceſſary that theſe three branches ſhould be entirely ſeparate and diſtinct from each other, ſo that no one of them may lie too much under the influence and controul of either of the collateral Branches. For if one part of the Legiſlature may any ways be inveſted with a power to force either of the other Two to concur with it, the Legiſlative Power is in reality, whatever it may pretend to, divided into no more than Two Branches.

5. It is the uſual boaſt of Engliſhmen, that our Government is fixed upon this triple baſis, which has been allowed even in ſpeculation, and that by perſons who could have no eye to our Conſtitution, a form the moſt accommodated to the happineſs of a Community, and the moſt likely to ſtand ſecure in its own ſtrength. But if upon examination one branch of its Legiſlature is liable on any occaſion to be entirely maſtered and controled by one of the other, it it is certain that nothing can be more deſirable than ſuch an improvement in our Conſtitution as may remove out of it this viſible imperfection. If a King has power, when he pleaſes, to add what number he ſhall think fit to a body of Nobles who have a vote in the Legiſlature, it is plain he may ſecure his point in that branch of

the Legiſlature, and by that means command two votes out of three. This has made many aſſert, and I wiſh I could hear a ſatisfactory anſwer to it, that there are not properly more than two branches in our Legiſlature, notwithſtanding we flatter ourſelves that they are three.

6. In this caſe, a precarious power of Nobles, ſo far ſubject to the Regal Power in their legiſlative capacity, might ſometimes be more pernicious to the publick than if the power of both the Branches were confeſſedly united in the Sovereign; becauſe we might well ſuppoſe a bad King would ſcarce venture upon ſome things, were the whole odium of them to turn upon himſelf; whereas a body of Peerage, ſhould they only be created in an emergency to carry any unjuſtifiable deſign, would ſerve to divert or ſilence the murmurs of the publick.

7. It is a known ſaying of a late Britiſh King, "That if his friends could gain him a Houſe "of Commons, he would throw his troop of "guards into the Houſe of Lords, rather than "miſcarry in his meaſures." And whether it is poſſible for a Court to gain a Houſe of Commons of what complection they pleaſe, and what would be the conſequences at ſome time or other of their ſucceſs in ſuch an attempt, whilſt the Crown is poſſeſt of a certain means, by virtue of its prerogative, of filling the Houſe of Lords with

with its own creatures, are points too evident in themſelves to be inſiſted upon.

8. The foregoing reflections are like firſt principles that have ſcarce been ever called into diſpute, and have not only been the avowed maxims of thoſe who have been diſtinguiſhed by the name of Whigs, but have furniſhed matter of complaint to every party in its turn. This power of the Prerogative has always occaſioned murmurs, when either ſide has found it exerted to their prejudice. We have often wiſhed for a redreſs of it, and have now an opportunity of coming at it, which if we do not lay hold of is not likely to offer itſelf again ſo long as we are a people.

9. It is propoſed, to prevent thoſe many inconveniencies which may ariſe from an arbitrary creation of Peers, in what proportion and at what time the Sovereign ſhall pleaſe, to reſtrain the Peers to a certain number. It is evident that ſuch a law would remedy thoſe many evils that may proceed from ſuch ſudden and numerous additions which have been made to the Houſe of Lords in the moſt critical conjunctures. But I find there are objections made to this expedient, from the conſequences it would have upon the Crown.

10. It is repreſented, that it will be the cutting off a branch from the Prerogative. But if

this be only the cutting off a branch which is pernicious to the publick, it is certainly a very good argument for doing it, when we can; and that this Power is of ſuch a nature, can ſcarce admit of a diſpute. Beſides, that the Crown, far from being leſſened by it, will receive a greater luſtre, by parting with a Prerogative that has ſo often given offence, and may ſome time turn to the deſtruction of the ſubject.

11. The Crown, as a branch of the Legiſlature, cannot deſire a greater Prerogative than that of a Negative in the paſſing of a law; and as it ought not to influence either Houſe in their debates, what can a good King deſire more than the power of approving or rejecting any ſuch bill as cannot paſs into a law without the Royal Aſſent?

12. The Crown will have ſtill all the power in it of doing good to the people, in which the Prerogative of our Britiſh Kings will be ſtill unlimited. In ſhort, it neither touches the executive nor the legiſlative power of the Crown, nor takes away the Prerogative of creating Peers, but only of doing it in ſuch a manner as ſeems repugnant to reaſon and juſtice. The Britiſh King will ſtill be the ſource of Nobility, and hold in himſelf the principle of Peerage, though it is not to be laviſhed away on multitudes,

or

or given occaſionally to the detriment of the publick.

13. Beſides, what does the Crown do more in parting with a branch of its Prerogative, than what the two other parts of the Legiſlature have frequently done, with regard to their reſpective bodies, when they have found any of their rights or privileges prejudicial to the Community? All ſuch ſelf denying acts are of a popular nature, and have been paſſed with the good-liking and applauſe of their fellow ſubjects. Nay the Crown has never more recommended itſelf to the affection of the people, than when it has retrenched itſelf in any exorbitance of Power that did not ſeem conſiſtent with their liberty; as in paſſing the bill of Habeas Corpus, and that for eſtabliſhing Trienmial Parliaments.

14. Indeed, were this a point extorted from the Crown in its neceſſities, it might be generous at ſuch a juncture to appear in the defence of the Prerogative; but this is not our caſe: we are only diſputing whether we ſhall accept of a voluntary conceſſion made by the Sovereign himſelf, who out of his unparalleled goodneſs has ſhown, by this inſtance, that he places the true dignity of a Britiſh Monarch, where it always ought to be placed, in the liberty of his people.

15. Having

15. Having conſidered this alteration propoſed to be made in our Conſtitution with relation to the Crown, let us now conſider it with regard firſt to the Houſe of Commons, and in the next place to the whole body of the Engliſh commonalty; and if we find that it will prove advantageous in its conſequences under both theſe views, it is undoubtedly an alteration very much to be wiſhed for.

16. The number of Peers is in a few reigns increaſed from 59 to near 220; and there is no queſtion but that in as few ſucceeding reigns their preſent number will be doubled; nor will poſterity be able to ſee an end of them, unleſs it be timely prevented. Nay, we have all the reaſon in the world to apprehend that their number will hereafter ſwell in greater proportions than it has done hitherto. It is a general remark, that ſince the act has paſſed for triennial elections, Commoners of great eſtates are more deſirous than ever of gaining a place in the Upper Houſe, which will exempt them from ſuch a conſtant dependance on their electors, and the frequent returns of trouble and expence in their elections. At leaſt it is natural to ſuppoſe that every King will make ſuch additions as will give his friends a majority; nay, if we may conclude from experience, every Miniſter who differs in his politicks

liticks from his predeceſſor, will bring to his aſſiſtance a ſufficient number to turn the balance in his favour. And it is obvious to every one how quick is the ſucceſſion of Miniſters in this country.

17. The firſt good conſequence, therefore, of the propoſed alteration to the Houſe of Commons will be this, That it will fill that Houſe with men of the largeſt fortunes, and the greateſt abilities; for we may well ſuppoſe that ſuch men will ſet themſelves forward to be elected into ſuch a ſeat, when it is the higheſt honour they can have immediately in view. By this means, thoſe will be the Repreſentatives of the people, who have the greateſt ſtake among them. Thoſe will have the giving of money in their power, who have the moſt of it in their poſſeſſion. But, above all, the influence of the Houſe of Commons, and conſequently of all the Commons of England, will preſerve itſelf in its due ſtrength; for, of all maxims, none is more unconteſted than that power follows property. But what additional ſtrength would this give the Houſe of Lords, if the richeſt Members of the Houſe of Commons may be draughted out of it in ſuch numbers as the preſent frame of our Conſtitution permits? Nor would the inconvenience be leſs with reſpect to men of great parliamentary abilities, if, inſtead of

of continuing to add weight and authority to the Lower Houſe, they may be called up at any time to employ the ſame abilities in aggrandizing the figure of another Houſe.

18. And as the propoſed alteration will be a proper means to give a figure to the Houſe of Commons, ſo will it likewiſe be an expedient to preſerve their integrity, as it will take off one method, and indeed the moſt effectual method, of bribing men of over-grown fortunes. When a Peerage dangles before the eyes of the moſt wealthy Commoner, it may have charms in it to one, who would have a contempt for any offers of another kind. A man's ambition is as ſuſceptible of bribes as his avarice, and it ſhould be the care of a Legiſlature to cut off all temptations to corruption in the one as well as the other. It is true, the alteration propoſed would not utterly remove the influence of ſuch a motive; but it would certainly very much weaken it, and render it infinitely more ineffectual than what it is at preſent.

19. If this method reſtrains men of the greateſt figure of the Lower Houſe from making their way ſo eaſily to the Upper, it will evidently tend to the bringing a greater number of places of the higheſt truſt, honour, or profit, into the hands of the moſt able and wealthy Commoners. Men ſo accompliſhed will have a diffuſive in-

fluence both in their own houſe, and in their reſpective counties; and it will be neceſſary for all Governments to find out proper rewards and gratifications for ſuch men; and gratifications of this kind no Commoner will envy them, ſince they enable them to be beneficial to the body of people whom they repreſent, and do not in their nature deprive us of their ſtrength and aſſiſtance in that branch of the Legiſlature to which we belong.

20. However, the propoſed reſtraint on the number of Peers is far from being an excluſion of ſuch Commoners who are recommended by their fortunes, or their abilities. According to the calculation generally received, there may happen two extinctions or vacancies, taking one year with another, in the body of Peers, as fixed and aſcertained by the new ſcheme, in caſe it ſhould obtain. And ſurely the Commons of England will think it ſufficient to loſe annually two of their moſt conſiderable members, whatever may be the opinion of particular perſons, who are in haſte to leave their company.

21. A reſtraint upon the number of the Lords will neceſſarily reſtrain the influence of that body in the election of Members to ſerve in the Lower Houſe. It is very well known, that few Members of the Houſe of Commons are advanced to Peerage, who have not one or more

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Corporations under their direction; nay, that very often this is one reaſon for their promotion. If, therefore, this perpetually increaſing body of Lords continues on the foot it is now, in proportion as their number is augmented, their influence in elections will grow more general, till at length, as the Upper Houſe are the creature of the Crown, the Lower Houſe may be in a great meaſure the creature of the Lords. And it is worth while to conſider whether in proceſs of time, unleſs ſeaſonably prevented, the Houſe of Commons may not be filled with the ſtewards and bayliffs of our Peers.

22. In the next place, let us ſee what would be the conſequences from ſuch an alteration upon the whole bulk of the Engliſh commonalty, which ſhould always find the firſt place in the thoughts of their Repreſentatives. If they ſhould gain only this ſingle advantage, I think it is a very conſiderable one, that it will hinder the nation from being over-run with Lords. We know that, in the ſale of an eſtate, it is no ſmall recommendation to the buyer, that there is no Lord within ſo many miles of it, and the diſtance of ſuch a borderer is often looked upon as an equivalent to a year's purchaſe. But who can be ſecure from ſuch a neighbour, whilſt the ſpecies is ſo apt to increaſe and multiply? I ſhall not inſiſt upon paying of debts, which is looked upon

upon as a moral duty, among Commoners, who cannot but be ſorry to ſee any additions to an order of men that are ſheltered by privileges from the demands of their honeſt and induſtrious creditors. To which many conſiderations of the like nature may be added, were they not obvious to the private reflection of every reader.

23. But the great point, and which ought to carry the chief weight with us in this caſe is, that the alteration now propoſed will give ſuch a mighty power to the bulk of the Engliſh Commons, as can be never counterbalanced by the body of the Nobility. Should we ſuppoſe 235 Peers poſſeſt, one with another, of 5000l. *per annum*, this would amount to no more than 1,175,000l. *per annum*; and what is ſuch a property, and the power ariſing out of it, compared with the power ariſing out of the property of thoſe many millions poſſeſt by the Commons? Beſides, that the great acceſſions of wealth yearly made in the body of the Commons would give it continually an increaſe of property and and power, which would accrue to the body of the Nobles, in caſe their door was always open to men of overflowing fortunes, who might find no great difficulty in procuring an entrance.

24. I ſhall now offer two fair queſtions to any man, who impartially weighs theſe matters.

Firſt, If two ſchemes of government were propoſed to him, in both of which the Legiſlature ſhould conſiſt of three branches, whether he would prefer that ſcheme, in which one of the branches might be increaſed at pleaſure by another of them; or that ſcheme in which every branch ſhould be limited to a certain ſtated number: Nay, if the two ſchemes were placed in parallel with one another, and conſidered in their reſpective conſequences, whether the firſt would not appear a moſt wild and indigeſted project?

In the ſecond place, I would propoſe this queſtion. If the Lords had been limited to a certain number by our conſtitution, whether it would not have been thought unpardonable in any one who ſhould have propoſed to have taken off that limitation, and left it to the pleaſure of the Crown arbitrarily to add to them any number at any time.

Nobody can be at a loſs to determine himſelf in theſe queſtions, who conſiders this ſubject by thoſe plain lights which are already exhibited in this diſcourſe, and which may be ſtrengthened by many other conſiderations.

25. This ſubject naturally engages me in one taſk more, which is, to examine the objections that

that have been ſtarted againſt this alteration propoſed to be made in the Conſtitution of the Houſe of Peers. And here I cannot diſcover any inconvenience which can be ſaid to follow from ſuch an alteration, that does not now ſubſiſt, or is not anſwered by ſome much greater inconvenience in the preſent ſtate of the Peerage. But, that I may not follow the example of thoſe who have appeared in print on the other ſide of this debate, in putting weak arguments into the mouth of their antagoniſts, I ſhall anſwer ſuch objections as have been the moſt approved by thoſe who declare themſelves againſt this bill, as they are laid together in a pamphlet, intituled, THE PLEBEIAN.

26. As for the introduction, the digreſſion upon the Ephori, and the concluding paragraph, they are only arguments *ad conflandam invidiam*, and ſuch as are not to be anſwered by reaſon, but by the ſame angry ſtrain in which they are written, and which would diſcredit a cauſe that is able to ſupport itſelf without ſuch an aſſiſtance.

27. "At firſt ſight," ſays the PLEBEIAN, "this "propoſal muſt appear very ſhocking; it carries "with it ſo great an alteration of the Con-"ſtitution *." This is the firſt general objection, and I wiſh it had been purſued regularly; but becauſe it is dropt and reſumed in

* P. 257.

the following part of the diſcourſe, I muſt be forced to collect thoſe ſcattered paſſages on this head, as I find them in different parts of the book. This great objection will be ſufficiently anſwered, if this alteration of the Conſtitution is from worſe to better; which I think has been fully proved. As every thing is formed into perfection by degrees, the wiſdom of all Legiſlatures has embraced every opportunity of making ſuch changes in their government, as have been advantageous to thoſe who live under it. This Author himſelf gives us an eminent inſtance of a great alteration of our Conſtitution in the Lower Houſe, under the reign of Queen Elizabeth, "when the Crown "erected ſeveral new Corporations, and relieved "ſeveral ancient and decayed ones from ſending "any Members at all *." I do not make uſe of this increaſe in the number of the Commons, as an argument for an increaſe of the number of the Lords, which the Author produces as the reaſoning of ſome people who are for the bill. Such people, if any there are, muſt talk inconſiſtently with themſelves, ſince it is the purport of the bill to prevent the Houſe of Lords from growing too numerous. But it is an unanſwerable argument to ſhew, that there has been as great an alteration in

* P. 264.

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one branch of our Legiſlature, as is now propoſed to be made in another; and that ſuch an alteration ſhould be introduced into our form of government, when there are good reaſons for it; on which account our Author himſelf juſtifies the above-mentioned alteration in the Houſe of Commons. Our Author furniſhes us with another very good argument in this particular againſt himſelf. "Whiggiſm," ſays he, "if I underſtand it aright, is a deſire of Liberty, "and a ſpirit of oppoſition to all exorbitant "Power in any part of the Conſtitution. For-"merly the danger on this account was from "the Crown; but ſince the Habeas Corpus Act, "and the many reſtraints laid upon the Crown "in King William's time, and the great and "numerous limitations of the Succeſſion Acts, "the Prerogative of the Crown is reduced ſo "low, that it is not at all dangerous to the "Commons *." As we have the Author's confeſſion in the aforementioned inſtance of an alteration in the Plebeian, he has here given us an account of as remarkable changes in the Regal branch of our government. The Prerogative was retrenched in thoſe ſeveral inſtances, becauſe without ſuch retrenchment the power of it appeared exorbitant and dangerous to the Commons. If therefore there ſtill inheres in the

* P. 261.

Crown a power that is exorbitant and dangerous to the Commons, there is the ſame reaſon why the Commons ſhould lay hold of the preſent opportunity to retrench it. This is the matter in debate betwixt us; but, be that as it will, the argument which the Author here makes uſe of againſt the bill in queſtion, "that it carries in "it too great an alteration of the Conſtitution," would have been as good an argument againſt the Habeas Corpus Act, or any other of thoſe above-mentioned. What is further ſaid upon this ſubject in p. 271. would make a handſome ſentence in a popular ſpeech, but will never ſtand the teſt of a ſtrict examination in a diſcourſe addreſt to the reaſons and not the paſſions of men. "In ſhort, it has been for our ancient "Conſtitution," ſays the Author, "that we "have ſtruggled with ſo much vigour for many "years together: it is for that we have poured "out a river of Engliſh blood, and a treaſure "unheard-of in any former age. This Conſti-"tution may have its imperfections; but, faulty "as it is, our anceſtors have conveyed down "Liberty to us through that channel: and we "ought to continue it on, as well as we can, to "our poſterity, and not give way to the new-"modelling ſchemes of every extraordinary "genius." This is not arguing, but declaiming. Our Anceſtors remedied ſeveral imperfections from

from time to time, and we are obliged to them for having conveyed Liberty down to us through the channel which they had ſo often altered and reformed. And will not our poſterity be as thankful to us, if we tranſmit to them their Liberty through the ſame channel, when it ſhall be only altered for the better conveyance of it?

28. Having taken off the force of this main objection, I ſhall follow others as the Author leads me. He tells us that "the ſhutting up "the door of the Houſe of Lords, in the manner "talked of, cannot but prove a great diſcou-"ragement to virtuous actions, to learning and "induſtry, and very detrimental to the Houſe "of Peers itſelf, by preventing ſuch frequent "ſupplies from going into it, as the nature of "ſuch a body requires; for want of which, it "may in time become corrupt and offenſive, like "a ſtagnated pool, which hitherto has been "preſerved wholeſome and pure by the freſh "ſtreams that paſs continually into it *." This conſideration, if it has any force, cuts down all the other arguments drawn from the new acceſſions of figure and power, which he ſuppoſes would accrue to the Houſe of Lords, by the paſſing of the bill ſo much talked of. Can it be detrimental to the Houſe of Lords, and at the ſame time throw into their hands all the places and

* P. 258.

honours that the Crown can confer upon them? Will that body of men, which would become mean and deſpicable, and offenſive as a ſtagnated pool, by the means of this alteration, be raiſed by the ſame means to be the moſt formidable, and the moſt honoured part in our Conſtitution? Or could the ſame body degenerate into a public nuiſance, as our Author repreſents it, and at the ſame time be able to over-awe both King and People? Can two ſuch contrary effects be produced from one and the ſame cauſe? But could we ſuppoſe that this body of men might thus degenerate; would they be able, without numerous recruits of wealth, learning and induſtry, to oppoſe any thing for the good of the Community, in contradiction to the King and People? But more of this hereafter.

29. Our Author adds, "I am not unaware it "will be ſaid, that the frequent extinctions of "[noble] families will ſalve this inconvenience, "and make room for the rewarding of Merit. "But," ſays he, "this expedient, I fear, is not "much to be depended on; for the uncertainty "of the time when the Crown will have any "ſuch power will make it much the ſame as "if it were never to have it at all;" which is as much as to ſay, that unleſs the Crown has power of making what number of Lords it pleaſes, and at what time it pleaſes, and to

ſerve what turn it pleaſes, it had as good have no power at all of making Peers, which the Author ſuppoſes is the only adequate power it has of rewarding merit. Not to aſk the Author whether it be generally virtuous actions, learning, or induſtry, that recommend Commoners to the Peerage, or of what other kind the merit is, which has been often thus rewarded; I ſhall only aſk him, whether any man has ſo crying a merit as immediately requires a Peerage for its reward? or whether the extinction of two titles in a year will not leave room enough for the Crown to reward thoſe extraordinary perſons, whoſe merits give them ſuch a demand upon it? As for another argument which the Author puts into the mouth of thoſe whom he calls patrons of the Bill propoſed, "that it will eaſe the Crown of impor-"tunities *," as I think it has no great weight in it, I am not concerned to urge any thing in its defence againſt the PLEBEIAN's anſwer to it.

30. We come now to the moſt conſiderable paragraph of the whole book, which I ſhall therefore tranſcribe at length. "But another "conſequence, of a much higher nature, at-"tending the limitation of the number of Peers, "is the danger there will be of changing the "Conſtitution by this means into an Ariſtocracy. "And this may at any time in ſuch caſe be

* P. 259.

" effected by the confederacy of two or three " great families, which would form ſuch a body " in the Houſe of Lords, as the Crown would " not be able to controul. That this kind of " government is one of the worſt ſorts of ſla- " very, is too well known to be diſputed. In a " Democracy, a great many different perſons " may come to have a ſhare of power by ſeveral " incidents, but in the other caſe it is birth only " that intitles to ſuperiority: And the milk ſuch " Nobles are nurſed up with, is hatred and con- " tempt for every human creature but thoſe of " their own imaginary dignity *." The queſtion to be ſtated here is, Whether the Houſe of Lords under their preſent Conſtitution is not as likely to run into an Ariſtocracy, as it would be in caſe their number ſhould be limited. It appears very plain to me, that a body of Peers perpetually increaſing, and capable of additions, has in it a natural tendency to an Ariſtocracy. Suppoſing that the Houſe of Lords from 60 members is now ſwelled to 200; Theſe, if increaſed by the ſame proportion, would in the ſame number of years amount to 666, to which we may preſume there would be ſtill the like proportionable additions. By this means they would in time receive ſuch vaſt acceſſions of property, as might encourage them not only to entertain ſo am-

* P. 260.

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bitious a deſign, but in a great meaſure to render it effectual; eſpecially when any men could be admitted into their own order, with their great abilities in Parliament, or their great influence among the people, who might be moſt capable of oppoſing their incroachments upon the Commons. I do allow that ſuch additions would be prejudicial to the Crown; but this is no reaſon why they would not be made, as it has not prevented the additions that have been made in our own memory. For though the Crown in general would be a ſufferer by this method; yet it would naturally have recourſe to it, as it has formerly, when it labours under any preſent exigency, that can only be removed by ſuch an expedient. This danger of an Ariſtocracy, every one muſt confeſs, would be very much abated, and, I think, utterly removed, by the limitation of the Lords to ſuch a number as is now propoſed. In ſuch a caſe, their property would be ſo very inconſiderable, when compared with that of the Commons (as I have before ſhewed to a demonſtration) that it would render ſuch a deſign in them the moſt chimerical, and the moſt impracticable. And ſince it is impoſſible that the whole body of Lords in their united ſtrength could be able to eſtabliſh themſelves into an Ariſtocracy, the Author's imagination vaniſhes, that "this may at any time, in "ſuch

" ſuch a caſe, be effected by the confederacy of " two or three great families, which would form " ſuch a body among the Lords as the Crown " would not be able to controul *." If the Author means in this place, by the Crown not being able to controul the Lords, that it would be reſtrained from pouring in ſuch a number as would always ſway them to its inclinations, it is what ought to be wiſhed for. If he means that this want of power in the Crown would enable them to erect an Ariſtocracy, it is certainly a wrong conſequence, becauſe not only the Crown, but the people would have a ſuperior Power in them to the body of Nobles, and are equally concerned to preſerve their ſtations in the government. The Author after this brings an argument to prove, that an Ariſtocracy is a bad form of government, and that a Democracy is preferable to it, in which I entirely agree with him; but muſt add, that a mixt government made out of Ariſtocracy, Democracy, and Monarchy, is better than either of them. The Author ſubjoins, that " the milk which Nobles " are nurſed up with is hatred and contempt " of every humane creature, but thoſe of their " own imaginary dignity †." If ſo, the fewer of them the better. What Commoner would not deſire to put a ſtop to the increaſe of them?

* P. 260. † Ibid.

31. The

31. The next objection I meet with is from the great privileges the Lords are already poſſeſſed of, with relation to actions *de Scandalis Magnatum* *, &c. which is likewiſe a very good reaſon why we ſhould hinder the increaſe of perſons inveſted with theſe privileges; and as for the judicial power, with that of impriſoning, they are ſuch as ſubſiſt in their body as it is now conſtituted, and therefore cannot be objected to the propoſed alteration, which would only leave them as they are.

32. "The increaſing the number of Peers," ſays the Author, "is always to be wiſhed for by "the Commons †." We have ſeen ſufficient reaſons why it ſhould not. "Becauſe the "greater their number, the leſs conſiderable "they become;" the contrary of which has been evidently proved; "and the leſs within "the influence of Court favours." What! when by this very power of increaſing them at will, it can ſecure any point among them that it pleaſes? "By which means alone Miniſters are "kept in awe, and remain in a ſituation of being "called to account for their actions. Were "it otherwiſe, they would be out of the reach "of any accuſation. They would know exactly "by whom they were to be tried, and their "judges might be their accomplices. And

* P. 261. † P. 262.

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" ſhould this once come to be the caſe, what " might they not attempt with impunity?" Is this inconvenience better prevented in a Houſe of Peers on the bottom it now ſtands? Can any who has been a good Miniſter be ſecure, if the Crown ſhould add a ſufficient number of his enemies to thoſe who ſit in judgement upon him? Or is a bad Miniſter in any danger, when he may be ſheltered by the addition of a ſufficient number of his friends?

33. I muſt not paſs over another remarkable paragraph of the Author upon the ſame argument for increaſing the Lords at pleaſure. " The " great advantage," ſays he, " that the number " of their body cannot be increaſed, is at preſent " the moſt valuable privilege of the Houſe of " Commons, and the only thing that makes " them conſiderable *." This is indeed a very poor advantage, to found upon it the grandeur of a Houſe of Commons. Is not the power of giving money and raiſing taxes confined to that body, and which can never fail to give them the greateſt weight in the Legiſlature? Will not this be always the moſt valuable privilege of the Commons? and what other privilege can make them more conſiderable? He goes on, " The " Lords are poſſeſſed of many great privileges " that they will not permit the Commons to

* P. 264.

" ſhare

"ſhare with them; and therefore the Commons "would be highly wanting to themſelves, if "they ſhould add this advantage likewiſe to the "Lords, which is the only one that they can "enjoy diſtinct from them." Our Author, as it may turn to his account, ſometimes conſiders the Lords in their perſonal Privileges as they are individuals, and ſometimes as they are a body of men in the Legiſlature. If he here means their Privileges in the former view, I do allow they are very great ones, and therefore certainly every Commoner cannot deſire an increaſe of ſuch individuals. But if he here means their Privileges as a Legiſlative Body, it is certain that all their Privileges together are not equal to that One, of commanding the purſe of the Community. So that it is wonderful how he could advance, that the number of the Houſe of Commons not being ſubject to an increaſe, "is the only advantage that they enjoy "diſtinct from the Houſe of Lords."

34. Our Author next proceeds to ſpeak of the proportion of Property between the two Houſes of Lords and Commons, which is a point already ſo fully diſcuſſed, that I ſhall not trouble the Reader with any repetitions; but cannot omit what the Author aſſerts as an indiſputable point, and which in itſelf is the greateſt paradox I ever heard advanced. His words are, "Indeed,

" if a reſtraining bill ſhould paſs, I do not doubt " but it would be ſoon followed with a bill to " prevent Lords from alienating their eſtates, for " which many plauſible reaſons are to be pro- " duced; and then, without all diſpute, the " balance of property will be ſoon turned on " the ſide of their Lordſhips *." Which is as much as to ſay, in plain Engliſh, that the Lords will have as much wealth amongſt them as the whole body of the Britiſh Commons, or that one million will be a balance againſt a hundred millions. Indeed the Houſe of Lords in their preſent Conſtitution may be always approaching to a balance in property with the Commons, from whence they are continually receiving into their body ſuch large ſupplies; but if their number be once limited, you cut off their recruits, and lay them under an impoſſibility of ever rivaling the other branch of the Legiſlature in this particular.

35. Our Author's argument, that a new Power would ariſe to the Houſe of Lords from the alteration ſo much talked of, is founded upon a fact which every one denies at firſt ſight. His words are theſe: " For as to what is commonly " ſaid, that the Lords would get nothing, no " new power would be added to them by this " means; I beg leave to ſtate this matter in a

* P. 265.

" proper

" proper light. Suppoſe the balance to be now " *even* betwixt the Lords and the Crown, as it " certainly is, or elſe the Conſtitution would not " ſubſiſt in quiet: Is it not plain to the moſt " common capacity, that when two ſcales are " upon an equal poiſe, if you take any weight " out of one of them, you give the advantage " to the other without putting any thing into " it *?" The Author here ſuppoſes that the balance between theſe two parts of the Legiſlature *ſhould* be even; and ſo far I concur with him, that being the chief end which this alteration has in view. But I can by no means ſuppoſe with him that they *are* even, becauſe it is contrary to matter of fact. For we plainly ſee that the Sovereign has it always in his power to make what diviſion of party or opinion he pleaſes prevail in that Houſe. As for the reaſon of their preſent ſuppoſed equality, " that otherwiſe they " could not ſubſiſt in quiet," it has no force in it, becauſe we ſee very ill-conſtituted governments will ſubſiſt in quiet for many ages, not that they are preſerved by a rightly tempered Conſtitution, which would give them the greateſt ſtrength, but by other accidental cauſes. The ill conſequences of ſuch an inequality may be frequently felt and complained of, though they may not ſhake the tranquillity of the publick.

* P. 266.

36. I have now gone through every thing that carries the face of an argument for the Conſtitution of the Houſe of Lords, as it now ſtands, or of an objection againſt the alteration propoſed to be made; having only avoided ſaying any thing in this caſe as it affects the Scotiſh Nobility, becauſe I have here conſidered it only as an Engliſh Commoner, and becauſe I have thoughts of proſecuting the ſubject, as it relates to Scotland, in another pamphlet, being unwilling to ſwell this to a greater bulk.

37. Since the writing of the foregoing Diſcourſe, I have peruſed a pamphlet, intituled, "The Thoughts of a Member of the Lower "Houſe," &c.*" in which the Author firſt approves our Conſtitution as divided into its Three branches, and through the whole courſe of his Book contends in effect, that it ſhould conſiſt of no more than Two; for he ſuppoſes the Houſe of Lords inſtituted only as guardians and ornaments to the Throne, and to be augmented by the Crown in ſuch a proportion, as may ſtrengthen it in oppoſition to the Houſe of Commons The Reader may ſee his ſcheme in the following words: "There is not," ſays this Writer, "a "more certain maxim in politicks, than that a "Monarchy muſt ſubſiſt by an Army, or No-"bility. The firſt makes it deſpotic, and the

* By Mr. Aſgill. See p. 274.

"latter

" latter a free government. I preſume none of " thoſe nobler perſonages themſelves, who have " the honour to make up that illuſtrious body, " do believe they are ſo diſtinguiſhed and ad- " vanced above their fellow-ſubjects for their " own ſakes: They know they are intended the " Guardians, as well as Ornaments of the Mo- " narchy, an eſſential prerogative of which it " muſt be to add to and augment their number " in ſuch proportion, as to render them a proper " balance againſt the Democratical part of our " Conſtitution, without being formidable to the " Monarchy itſelf, the ſupport of which is the " reaſon of their inſtitution *." This is a moſt extraordinary notion of government, that one branch of a Legiſlature ſhould be inſtituted, only to be ſubſervient to the ſtrength and ſupport of another, but it is on this bottom that he founds his whole diſcourſe; and as for his objections to the propoſed alteration, I find they are ſuch as I have already obviated in the courſe of this pamphlet. If any thing remains in them unanſwered, it will fall under the laſt objection againſt the matter in debate, which I ſhould not take notice of, did not I find that it makes an impreſſion upon ſome people's minds.

38. Suppoſe, ſays the objection, there ſhould be an inflexible obſtinacy in a Houſe of Peers,

* P. 9.

what method would there be left to bring them to a concurrence with the two other branches of the Legiſlature, when it will not be in the power of the King to bring them over to reaſon, by flinging in ſufficient numbers among them? To this I anſwer, That if the Lords are obſtinate in a point that is *Reaſonable* and *Beneficial* to the Community, it will be happy for their country that they ſhould be inveſted with the proper power of a Legiſlative branch, not to be overruled to wrong meaſures. This may ſometimes be of great advantge to the publick, if we can poſſibly ſuppoſe that the two other branches may concur in any thing that is not conſiſtent with juſtice, or the national intereſt. If the Peers are thus inflexibly obſtinate in any methods that are *Diſhonourable*, *Unjuſt*, or *Pernicious* to their country; can we imagine they could not be influenced into a compliance by the authority of the two ſharing branches in the Legiſlature? Or can we think they would perſiſt in meaſures which would draw upon them the diſpleaſure of the Crown, and the reſentments of the whole Commons of Great Britain? Every body of men takes as much care as poſſible to preſerve their credit, and to render themſelves popular; and we cannot think that any branch of a Legiſlature would be made up of madmen, or purſue ſuch meaſures as muſt neceſſarily end

in their infamy, or their deſtruction; eſpecially when they are infinitely weaker than either of the other conſtituent parts of our Legiſlature. Could any perſon apprehend ſuch a behaviour from them, I am ſure the ſame perſon cannot in his heart apprehend their growing up into an Ariſtocracy. The Peers are ſo little a match for the Crown in power, or the Commons in property, much leſs able to cope with the united force of both; that it is wildneſs to ſuppoſe them guilty of ſuch an unjuſt and unreaſonable obſtinacy, as they know might endanger their very being in the Britiſh Conſtitution. And now I ſhall only propoſe it to every one's thoughts, whether an expedient, which will remedy the greateſt inconvenience that may ariſe to us, from one of the branches of the Legiſlature, and of which we have had experience, as has been already ſufficiently explained, ſhould prevail with us to lay it aſide, out of a groundleſs fear, that it ſhould expoſe us to an inconvenience from another branch of the Legiſlature, which muſt ſuppoſe them deſtitute of common ſenſe, void of honour and equity, and regardleſs of ſelf-preſervation, before it can poſſibly befall us. To this I ſhall only add that whatever objections are made againſt this alteration in the Conſtitution, may be made againſt every form of government, in which the Legi-

ſlature conſiſts of three diſtinct branches, and that is, againſt ſuch a form as has been pronounced the moſt perfect by thoſe who have been the moſt ſkilful politicians, and the moſt famous for their obſervations on the nature of government.

*** A Letter in the "Weekly Medley," March 28, 1719, pays ſome merited compliments to an ingenious Artiſan, Mr. Price, of St. Andrew's, Holbourn, "for reſtoring the antient beautiful art of Staining and Painting Glaſs to perfection; an art now ſo long loſt, its loſs ſo lamented, and its re-invention ſo much coveted. Too luminous a Church is too gay for the buſineſs that is done there; it ſhews in too clear a point of ſight, too many objects for diſtraction; but that which pervades and penetrates the coloured glaſs, ſtrikes one with a Religious awe, a ſpirit of recollection and meditation, and has in it, ſomething I do not know what of ſolemn and ſacred. Beſides, it draws frequently the eye off from the book of Prayer in a Church; and then, while the eye is looking through the window towards the Heavens, the paſſages repreſented on the glaſs, being taken out of Holy Writ, lift and elevate the mind, as they do the eye, to Heaven. A better pattern of this old art (and that is great to ſay) is not to be found in any old Church, than is now to be ſeen in the Eaſt window of St. Andrew's, Holbourn, where the Paſſion of our Saviour, whoſe Divinity ſome would be permitted to deny, and yet to enter that Church, is repreſented in a lively manner. And the red part of the colour is ſo beautifully ſtrong, that it would caſt a bluſh upon any guilty wretch, that ſtanding oppoſite to it ſhould ſay, that the Saviour, whoſe Paſſion it repreſents, had not the Divinity joined with the Humanity."

††† "At the Blue Leg in Bow-Lane, near Watling-ſtreet, are ſold LOTTERY TICKETS and SHARES, Whole Tickets at the ſame price as upon the Exchange; and, for the conveniency of ſuch as cannot purchaſe whole tickets, or would extend their chances to a larger latitude, they may have half tickets, quarter tickets, fifth parts, tenth parts, or twentieth parts of tickets; a perſon for 4s. may have the 20th part of one ticket, for 8s. a ſhare in two tickets, for 20s. a ſhare of five tickets, for 40s. a ſhare of ten Tickets, for 4l. a ſhare of 20 tickets, for 10l. a ſhare of 50 Tickets, for 20l. a ſhare of 100 Tickets, all ſeveral numbers; and in the ſame proportion to any other number. There are but 5 blanks to one prize; the loweſt is 10l. and the higheſt 20,000l. There are but a ſmall number left, therefore thoſe who intend to have any muſt be expeditious."

THE

THE PLEBEIAN.

N° II. MONDAY, MARCH 23, 1718-19.

CONSIDERATIONS UPON THE REPORTS RELATING TO THE PEERAGE, CONTINUED;

AND

REMARKS UPON THE PAMPHLETS THAT HAVE BEEN WRIT FOR THE SUPPOSED BILL.

BY A MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

" Quis enim jam non intelligat Artes
" Patricias?" * * * * * Juv. Sat. iv. 101.

Who ſees not now through the Lords thin diſguiſe?
DRYDEN.

THOSE who are not particularly acquainted with the vocation of Pamphlet-writing, have very much wondered that a matter of ſo great conſequence, as the affair of the PEERAGE, and eſpouſed by ſuch perſons as are very well known to be its patrons, could have been ſo long a while upon the ſtage, and no champion appear for it: but others, who are more verſed in this kind of buſineſs, know, there could not be wanting perſons enough to make their court, by producing their lucubrations on

this head. But as it is a ſubject that will not very well bear debating, their maſters, without doubt, were of opinion, that the beſt way was, to let all manner of writing alone, and keep all that could be ſaid on the ſubject for the time and place where it was abſolutely neceſſary to ſay ſomething.

The agitators for the bill aſſured themſelves, that nobody would be ſo bold as to attack firſt; and conſequently judged themſelves out of all danger. But the PLEBEIAN ſtarting forth unexpectedly, they were forced, like people in a ſurprize, or on an invaſion, to march immediately any troops they had; and indeed theſe are ſome of the moſt tattered I ever ſaw.

The firſt Champion that appeared for this bill, was a perſon who exhibited himſelf in the St. James's-Poſt, of Wedneſday, March 18, in this advertiſement: "Some Conſiderations re-"lating to the Peerage of Great Britain. Where-"in the arguments *for* the reaſonableneſs and "expediency of a bill, ſaid to be depending, are "ſtated *Pro* and *Con.*"

This performance I have not been able to venture upon; for He that can ſtate arguments *for* the bill, both *Pro* and *Con*, is too ſlippery a perſon for any body to lay hold of.

The next that entered the liſts, on the ſame ſide of the queſtion, having been more fortu-

nate

nate than to *diſcover himſelf beforehand*, I have peruſed his labours. The account he gives of himſelf, is, " That he is a Member of the Houſe " of Commons, who has a friend with whom he " uſes to talk over in *private* all arguments and " conſiderations which concern any thing of " moment, as far as they could collect and re- " member them: and they having both agreed " that this was a matter of a very extraordinary " nature, the one entreated the other to put his " thoughts about it in writing, that he might " be better able to judge of them all together. " And in order to continue the privacy of this " correſpondence, thoſe thoughts came out, " printed for J. Roberts in Warwick-Lane."

This notable introduction was very near having the ſame effect upon me, as to this pamphlet, as the advertiſement juſt mentioned had to the former; but with much ado I went through the performance. All I can learn from it is, That this Gentleman was preſent at the debates of the Houſe of Lords; where he does not ſeem to have been mightily enlightened as to the true ſtate of the caſe, the debate having in all probability run pretty much one way *.

The next that follows theſe two combatants for this bill, is ſomebody or other that is uſed,

* P. 8.

to maſquerading, as I ſuppoſe; and indeed he is ſo well diſguiſed, that it is impoſſible to know him. When I firſt read the title, *The Old Whig*, I expected no leſs than the utmoſt wrath and indignation againſt the Houſe of Lords. I could not help thinking but he would have been for *Voting them uſeleſs* at leaſt, as his anceſtors did formerly: but I was extremely ſurprized to find juſt the contrary; that he is for giving them ſuch a power, as would make the *Houſe of Commons uſeleſs*; and therefore he might as well have taken any other title in the world, as *The Old Whig*. I am afraid he is ſo *old a Whig*, that he has quite *forgot his Principles*.

But I ſhall ſhew now more plainly, what is ſaid in the former PLEBEIAN, that this is neither a *Whig* nor a *Tory* point, but is a jumble, a hodge-podge, a confuſion of all parties and all perſons together; and muſt inevitably in its conſequences deſtroy firſt *Whig* and *Tory*, and afterwards *Crown* and *People*. As all ſorts of people unite for it, ſo ought all ſorts, and of every denomination, that have any value for their Conſtitution, to unite againſt it.

This Pamphlet, by the marks it appears with, being in all probability the beſt performance that is to come from that quarter, the PLEBEIAN will conſider it thoroughly; and in order to proceed

ceed more methodically, for this Author's ſatisfaction,

Firſt, I will anſwer the objections made to the laſt PLEBEIAN.

Secondly, I will conſider the argument, as the *Old Whig* ſtates it himſelf.

The firſt objection the Author of the Remarks makes to the PLEBEIAN, is page 289. where he ſays, "That the *Introduction*, the Digreſſion "upon the *Ephori*, and the *Concluſion*, are all "arguments *ad conflandam invidiam*." He who ſays that arguments drawn from Hiſtory, which can only ſhew what has happened in former times, are arguments *ad conflandam invidiam*, gives up the matter in diſpute, and lets the world know, by paſſing them ſo ſlightly over, that he feels their force: for it is a tacit admiſſion, that in all probability the like diſaſters will happen from the alterations now projected in our Conſtitution; which, hiſtory informs us, were the real conſequences of alterations of the like nature in other countries; otherwiſe thoſe arguments could not now contribute to make perſons invidious. Beſides, I always thought that bringing examples from hiſtory was looked upon as the moſt impartial and unexceptionable method of arguing, as it is abſtracted from the paſſions and intereſts of the preſent times: for what is Learning and Hiſtory, if it be not to draw inferences

ferences of what may happen, from what has happened?

As to the digreſſion upon the *Ephori*, the PLEBEIAN was very careful to avoid giving offence. Amongſt the many extraordinary Powers exerciſed by thoſe magiſtrates, there was one of a very uncommon nature; which was, that as they took upon themſelves the ſole inſpection of the youth, they were particularly curious of the perſons of the *Boys*. They employed every tenth day in examining the youths of about fifteen, ſtark naked, *Oportebat Ephebos decimo quoque die Ephoris ſe ſiſtere ſine veſte*, Ubbo Emmius, de Rep. Lac. p. 235. with whom *Crags* agrees almoſt in the ſame words, in the Treatiſe mentioned in the former PLEBEIAN, p. 266. What an ill uſe was made of this power, we may ſee in *Emmius*, p. 236, where ſpeaking of the manner how the *Ephori* lived with thoſe young men they liked beſt, he ſays, *iis* (Ephebis) *aſſiduo fere adhærebant*. Which words, for fear of offending the PLEBEIAN Ladies, I am not at liberty to tranſlate. However, it is very plain all this was omitted to avoid the leaſt appearance of perſonal reflection.

The firſt argument of the PLEBEIAN, which the *Old Whig* objects to, is, p. 290. "That though "the PLEBEIAN declares againſt the propoſed "bill, becauſe it will make ſo great an alteration "in

" in our Conſtitution, yet he produces an emi-
" nent inſtance of a great alteration of our Con-
" ſtitution in the Lower Houſe under the reign
" of Queen Elizabeth, when the Crown erected
" ſeveral new Corporations, and relieved ſeveral
" ancient decayed ones from ſending any Mem-
" bers at all."

This, the Remarker ſays, was as great an alteration in one branch of our Legiſlature, as is now propoſed to be made in another. The Remarker quite miſtakes this point; for, inſtead of being an alteration of ſo great conſequence to the Conſtitution of the Commons, as this new propoſal is of that of the Lords, it was an alteration of no conſequence at all. Suppoſe the towns of Watchet and Dunſter, two ſea-ports in Somerſetſhire, to have been deſtroyed in the wars with Ireland in Queen Elizabeth's time. The inhabitants, on account of poverty, apply to the Crown to be exempted from the charge of paying four Members to repreſent them in Parliament. The Crown ſome time after grants Charters to two neighbouring towns in flouriſhing circumſtances, and directs the writs at a following ſummons of a Parliament to be ſent to Tiverton and Honiton, inſtead of Watchet and Dunſter. Let any body judge if this alteration can be of any conſequence to the Houſe of Commons. Here is nothing elſe but the places changed;

changed; and four Members from Tiverton and Honiton are the ſame thing as four from Watchet and Dunſter. But to ſtate this matter with nicety would require much more labour and time than I am able to allow it.

Another argument, which the Remarker ſays the PLEBEIAN furniſhes againſt himſelf, is, "That he owns the Prerogative has been re-"trenched in ſeveral inſtances; becauſe without "ſuch retrenchment the Power of it appeared "exorbitant and dangerous to the Commons." But theſe retrenchments being now made, the queſtion at preſent is, Whether the Commons ought to go on ſtripping the Crown of every jewel, till it becomes leſs reſplendent than a Doge of Venice's coronet, or leſs comfortable than the Sword-bearer's Cap of Maintenance; and, what is of the greateſt moment to the Commons, leſs able to protect them againſt the Power of a Houſe of Lords, if ever their Lordſhips ſhould be diſpoſed to claim a larger ſhare of authority than belongs to them?

As to the complaint the Remarker makes, That the PLEBEIAN *applies to mens Paſſions, and not their Reaſons; and declaims inſtead of arguing*; what muſt be ſaid in anſwer to this is, That people muſt make uſe of what arm they have. On the one ſide, it is evident there can be nothing but arguing and reaſoning, and declaiming and exemplifying; but, on the other, the PLEBEIAN

is

is afraid there are more irreſiſtible arts of applying to the *Paſſions*, rather than to the *Reaſons* of men, or elſe he would not have one minute's pain for the iſſue of this queſtion.

The manner in which the *Remarker* ſtates the PLEBEIAN's argument, relating to the *ſhutting up the door of the Houſe of Lords*, ſhews he either wilfully or ignorantly miſtakes that part of the Controverſy: "For, after having cited the words "of the PLEBEIAN, he aſks, if it can be detri- "mental to the Houſe of Lords, and at the ſame "time throw into their hands all the places and "honours that the Crown can confer upon them? "Will that body of men, which would become "mean and deſpicable, and offenſive as a ſtag- "nated pool, by the means of this alteration, "be raiſed by the ſame means to be the moſt "formidable and moſt honoured part of the "Conſtitution? Or would they be able, with- "out numerous recruits of wealth, learning, and "induſtry, to oppoſe any thing for the good of "the Community?" To this I anſwer, It will not be detrimental to them in point of Power, but will be detrimental on account of thoſe talents that ought to accompany Power; the want of which the Commons will feel in their *Judicature*, and in many more particulars. They will be *offenſive* to others, but not perceive it themſelves; they will be *formidable*, but not *honoured*.

honoured. Theſe are natural *Effects* that all *Exorbitant Power produces.* As to wealth, they will take it, it is be feared, where they can find it; and learning and induſtry will be as as uſeleſs baubles to their Lordſhips, as *Dangling Peerages* (as my Author deſcribes them excellently well) are to men of ſenſe amongſt the Commons.

The next objection of the *Old Whig* to the PLEBEIAN is, "That he avers the uncertainty "of the extinction of families will leave ſo little "opportunity for the Crown to reward merit "by PATRICIAN Honours, that it will be much "the ſame thing as if the Crown were never to "have any ſuch Power at all." *Whereas* (ſays he) *there will be two Titles extinct every year, according to the Calculation generally received.*

By the *Calculation generally received,* I ſuppoſe the *Remarker* means the Liſt publiſhed by way of prelude to this project. Whether it be true or falſe, if ſome Heralds know any thing of this matter, would take more time to examine into, than, I dare ſay, the Conſtitution it is intended to introduce would ſubſiſt. But ſuppoſing, for argument ſake, that that Calculation is right, and that in one hundred and ſixteen years there have been one hundred and fifty-four extinctions, there will be found wanting ſeventy-eight to make up his number of two a year; ſo that the

the extinctions have not been during that term quite ſo many as after the rate of one *Lord and a half* per annum. But beſides this error in Arithmetick, there is another error of an *odd nature* in this *Computation*; which, unleſs ſome method is propoſed to aſcertain it, will reduce the extinctions to fewer than even one a year. And if ſo, thoſe who expect to have their ſervices rewarded by reverſions ſo uncertainly computed, may have time enough to try all their patience, and at laſt find that, inſtead of advancing themſelves to dignity, they have been forging their own chains. In the *Computations of the Titles extinct*, all thoſe are comprehended who have been extinguiſhed by *the edge of the Law, for Treaſon, Rebellion, and other capital offences:* and who, without the Spirit of Prophecy, can foretell what *Vacancies* may happen by ſuch means for the future? But if, in favour of this *ſcheme*, it be admitted that in all probability there may be as many and as great *Criminals* hereafter in that Noble Body as there have been for the time paſt, is it not to be feared that the *Path to juſtice may be more difficult, after this narrowing the way up to the Houſe of Peers, than it has been formerly.*

As to what the *Remarker* has objected to the arguments of the PLEBEIAN, which prove, "That the Limitation of the number of the "Lords

" Lords will run the Conſtitution into an Ariſ-
" tocracy ;" this matter ſhall be fully conſidered preſently, when I come to examine the *Old Whig's* ſtate of the caſe.

In a following paragraph, where the *Remarker* takes notice of what the PLEBEIAN urges on the ſide of the King and Commons, *viz.* " That an ill Miniſter might be ſkreened againſt " them both, if this Law ſhould take place, by " reaſon that in ſuch caſe he would know " exactly his judges (who might likewiſe be his " accomplices), and ſo act with impunity; the " *Remarker* argues, That if this bill does not " paſs, an innocent Miniſter cannot be ſecure, " nor a guilty one puniſhed, if the Crown ſhould " add to the Houſe of Peers a ſufficient number " of the enemies of the one, or of the friends " of the other." In either of which caſes the utmoſt iniquity muſt be ſuppoſed in the Crown, which, I confeſs, I cannot bring myſelf to do, and therefore my argument remains entire. And it would grieve me to the heart, if I could think there were any *innocent Miniſters*, who ought to be emboldened by the conſciouſneſs of their integrity, and yet ſhould have greater apprehenſions from honeſt actions, than have been hitherto ſhown by men of the moſt guilty conſciences, through the many ages that this Conſtitution

ſtitution has ſubſiſted, without the alteration now deſired.

The *Remarker* thinks it wonderful how the PLEBEIAN could advance, "That the number "of the Houſe of Commons not being ſubject "to an increaſe, is the only advantage that they "enjoy diſtinct from the Houſe of Lords;" and alledges, that *all their Lordſhips Privileges together are not equal to that one of commanding the purſe of the community.* Were it true, that the Commoners enjoyed this privilege of *commanding the purſe of the Community*, diſtinct from the Houſe of Lords, they would be very eaſy as to the increaſing, or diminiſhing, or fixing their number, or as to any thing elſe that might belong to that Noble Aſſembly. But, alas! this is not the caſe; for their Lordſhip's concurrence is as neceſſary to a money-bill, as to any other bill: nay, whether a money-bill may not originally take its riſe in their Houſe, is a point never yet clearly given up by their Lordſhips, if I am not very much miſinformed; and whether they may not be more inclinable to diſpute this matter, if ever their door comes to be ſhut in the manner now propoſed, may deſerve very ſerious reflection.

Thus having anſwered every objection made to the former PLEBEIAN by the *Old Whig*, except ſuch as will occur in conſidering this argument,

gument, as he ſtates it himſelf; I ſhall now proceed to that point which I propoſed at firſt ſetting out.

I agree with our Author, "That the beſt "kind of Government is that which is compoſed "of theſe three branches, the *Regal*, the *Noble*, "and the *Plebeian*." This is at preſent our happy Conſtitution: "But then," ſays this Author, "we have one imperfection or defect in it, "which wants to be remedied; and that is, the "Crown has too great a power over one branch "of this Conſtitution, namely, the *Noble*; in "that the Crown can, whenever it pleaſes, add "ſo many to their number as to influence their "actions." And this Author likewiſe aſſures us, p. 4. "That the Crown has power enough "alſo to gain a Houſe of Commons of what com-"plexion it pleaſes." From whence I obſerve, firſt, That if it be a fault in the Conſtitution, that the Crown has ſo great power over one branch of the Conſtitution, the *Noble*, as this Author affirms, it is as great an imperfection that the Crown has ſo great a Power, as he alſo affirms it has, over the PLEBEIAN. And therefore this Author ſhould have propoſed ſome method to have remedied this defect in the latter, as well as in the former branch; or elſe that perfection in the Conſtitution, he ſeems to be deſirous of, cannot be arrived at. He contends,

tends, that it is abſolutely neceſſary the *Lords ſhould be entirely independent of the Crown.* An impartial friend to the *whole body of the people*, and to ſound reaſon, would have ſaid as much for the Commons. Then theſe two Eſtates would have been upon a level. But even by ſuch an alteration, which is the only equal one, our Conſtitution would not be mended, but made much worſe; for if both Lords and Commons were as independent of the Crown as this Author deſires the Lords may be, the unhappy conſequence that muſt enſue would be, that if any diſcord ſhould ariſe betwixt them, and each remain inflexibly reſolved, here the Conſtitution would certainly want a caſting power; and the only way of ending the diſpute muſt be like a *Poliſh* Dyet, *by getting up on horſeback.* And therefore this Power now in the Crown, and which has been in it for ſo many ages, is neceſſary for the good of the whole Community, to prevent the greateſt confuſion, which might otherwiſe ariſe from the paſſions of men.

The Crown once parted with this Power out of its hands to the Commons; and that conceſſion produced the ruin of the Monarchy, and of the Peerage. If the Crown ſhould part with the Power now to the Lords, that it has over them, why may it not be very reaſonably appre-

hended, that the ſame fatal conſequence may enſue to the King and the Commons?

If it be neceſſary, as it has been plainly ſhewn, that the Power now in the Crown ſhould remain there, for the good of the people in general; it is as neceſſary for the defence and advantage of the Crown itſelf. The Lords (by the Power the Crown has of adding to their number) are a fluctuating uncertain body. This is all that gives the Crown any influence over them, and prevents combinations, cabals, and factions againſt the Crown. But if the door comes once to be ſhut, ſo that the Crown cannot make any conſiderable addition to their number in any exigencies whatever, what a door is opened at the ſame time to form a Power ſuperior to that of the Crown, and ſuperior to all human controul! Then they will become a fixed certain body: and ſhould three or four ambitious bold men combine together hereafter, of the greateſt families, and the greateſt eſtates, where would the difficulty be of getting a majority of two hundred thirty-five? and, if once obtained, what remedy could be provided in ſo deſperate a caſe? Whilſt they act in the common methods of government, they would command all *favours*; and, ſhould they ever act in an *arbitrary* manner, neceſſity and ſelf-defence would make the union amongſt them the ſtronger.

I will

I will now examine what the Author of the *Old Whig* calls the *Great Point*, and which ought to carry the chief weight with us in this caſe; which is, "That the Alteration now propoſed "will give ſuch a mighty Power to the bulk "of the *Engliſh* Commons, as can never be "counterbalanced by the body of the Nobility. "Should we ſuppoſe two hundred thirty-five "Peers poſſeſſed one with another of 5000l. *per* "*annum*, this would amount to no more than "1,175,000l. *per annum*. And what is ſuch a "property, and the Power ariſing out of it, "compared with the Power ariſing out of the "property of thoſe many millions poſſeſſed by "the Commons?"

By this ſtate of the caſe, we are to ſuppoſe on the one hand a certain, limited, fixed, hereditary body, of two hundred thirty-five Peers, enjoying great privileges above the Commons, and poſſeſſed of an annual revenue amounting to 1,175,000l. which they have entirely in their own power; and this eſtate not ſo equally divided as 5000l. *per ann.* to every individual, but to ſome the command of 50,000l. a year apiece, others not 500l. a year. On the other hand, you muſt ſuppoſe a body of above twice the number fluctuating, unfixed, in the power of their Prince every moment, at furtheſt not able to ſubſiſt above a few years, and poſſeſſed of

not near half the eſtate before-mentioned; is it not too evident which of theſe two bodies muſt deſtroy the other, if once this ſhould come to be really the caſe? The Lords are Principals, and act entirely for themſelves: the Commoners are no farther Principals than as to the eſtates they poſſeſs themſelves. As our Author has ſtated this matter, in order to magnify the power of the wealth of the Commons, though he is all along ſpeaking of the aggregate body, yet he would inſinuate as if they had as great command over the univerſal Body of the People, as the Lords have over themſelves. This is as much as to ſay, that the four Members of the city of London have as abſolute command over the eſtates of all the inhabitants of that great *Metropolis*, as any four Lords have over their tenants. Indeed, if the Commons had a Power of laying taxes upon the eſtates of all thoſe they repreſent, that would be the ſame thing in this caſe, provided they had it abſtractedly from the Lords. But this fallacy, which is often inſinuated in this Pamphlet, has been already detected. The Commons have no more power over their fellow-ſubjects eſtates than the Lords: they cannot lay any tax without their Lordſhips concurrence. And all that is peculiar to the Commons in this matter is, that they have hitherto been allowed to chuſe what tax they judged eaſieſt

eaſieſt for the people: but every day's experience ſhews us, that, if the Lords differ in opinion from the Commons, their power is at an end. The better to illuſtrate this *Great Point*, as our Author properly calls it; as he has computed the value of the wealth of the body of Peers, I will take the liberty to compute the value of the wealth of the body of the Commons. Suppoſing them to be worth, one with another, 800l. *per ann.* including perſonal eſtates, which I am certain is not diſparaging this, or any other Houſe of Commons that has ſat in a Britiſh Parliament; the annual income of five hundred fifty-eight Commoners will amount to 446,400l; which is ſo inſignificant a ſum, in proportion to the value of the property of the Lords, that I will beg leave to compute his Majeſty's whole Civil Liſt with the property of the Commons, both ſums together making but one million forty-ſix thouſand four hundred pounds; and there will ſtill remain a balance on their Lordſhips' ſide of one hundred twenty-eight thouſand ſix hundred pounds *per annum*. *Therefore, if it is an unconteſted maxim, That Power follows property*, p. 283; here is Power, here is Property; and let the body that poſſeſſes both in ſuch a degree be but once made ſo independent as is propoſed, would not the Crown, would not the Commons, be abſolutely under the Do-

minion of the Lords, according to this Author's own way of reaſoning?

I am ſatisfied the controverſy is ended here: but I will ſuppoſe my Author not to have been miſtaken ſo very groſſly, and examine his argument upon an imagination that the property of the Houſe of Commons was ten times ſuperior to that of Lords, whereas the property of the Lords is near three times as much as theirs; yet, even in this caſe, the Lords would have the advantage of them; becauſe an united conſtant body of men, always acting for the ſame intereſt and grandeur, and purſuing a continued ſcheme, muſt be an over-match for ſo tranſitory a body, and made up of perſons of ſuch different views and intereſts as the Houſe of Commons is. To bring an example on this head. Let us imagine the ſtock of the Bank of England to be of the value of one million, and the ſtock or caſh of all the Bankers, Scriveners, Goldſmiths, and dealers in Money throughout London, to be four times or eight times that ſum; is there any body who does not believe the Bank, incorporated and well compacted in all reſpects for its own private intereſt, will not have a greater Power, greater credit and authority, than all thoſe particular Proprietors of a much larger capital, who cannot poſſibly be ever put into any poſture, ſo as to act with that weight for their intereſt,

intereſt, as the Bank will do for itſelf in the circumſtances above-mentioned? The great Power of all ſuch fixed bodies is chiefly owing to this circumſtance, that two or three perſons always govern the reſt; and it is as well the common intereſt of the ſociety that they ſhould be ſo governed, as the particular intereſt of the governors. In this their ſtrength chiefly conſiſts; and for this reaſon five or ſix hundred Lords (if any body can be ſo wild as to ſuppoſe the Crown will every increaſe their number to ſuch a degree) will not be ſo terrible to the Crown or the People, as two hundred thirty-five, or any ſuch fixed number. For to ſuppoſe that the majority of two hundred thirty-five Lords, were they ſo fixed, would not be entirely directed and influenced by three or four amongſt them of the greateſt wealth, abilities, and reſolution, is as abſurd and improbable to common reaſon and conſtant experience, as any thing that can be thought of.

If it be allowed then, as it certainly muſt be, that the weight of ſo great Power, and of ſuch diſproportionable Property, may by this means come into a very few hands; what havock may it not make of the dignity of the Crown, and of the liberty of the People?

Thus I have ſhewn the certain deſtructive conſequences of this project, as ſtated by the

PLEBEIAN,

PLEBEIAN, and even as ſtated by the OLD WHIG himſelf. I muſt confeſs, I do not believe that the Authors of this ſcheme were apprehenſive how far it would go; but ſince it is now ſo plain, that *he who runs may read*, I hope they themſelves will deſiſt from ſo deſperate an undertaking.

I cannot help obſerving, that his Majeſty is treated with great indignity by the Author before me, in ſeveral paſſages of his pamphlet. In one place he ſays, "Whilſt the door of the "Houſe of Lords is always open, people of over-"flowing fortunes may find no great difficulty "in procuring an entrance." In another, he inſinuates, that "there is another kind of merit "beſides what ariſes from virtuous actions, "learning, and induſtry, that has been often "rewarded with Peerage." I am ſatisfied his Majeſty has uſed this prerogative, as he has done every other prerogative of the Crown, with the greateſt diſcerment, and therefore I am willing to truſt it ſtill in his hands. The Houſe of Lords is treated by this Author ſtill more *en cavalier* than his Majeſty. His words are theſe: "If the Engliſh Commonalty ſhould (by this "Bill) gain only this ſingle advantage, I think "it a very conſiderable one, that it will hinder "the nation from being over-run with Lords. "We know, that in the ſale of an eſtate it is no "ſmall

"small recommendation to the buyer, that there "is no Lord within so many miles of it; and "the distance of such a borderer is often looked "upon as an equivalent to a year's purchase. "But who can be secure from such a neighbour, "whilst the species is so apt to increase and "multiply? I shall not insist upon paying of "debts, which is looked upon as a moral duty "amongst Commoners, who cannot but be "sorry to see any additions to an order of men "that are sheltered by privileges from the de-"mands of their honest and industrious cre-"ditors. To which many considerations of the "like nature might be added, were they not "obvious to the private reflection of every "reader *."

I cannot very well account for it, how this Author comes to take so great a liberty as he has done here; even so far, as to endeavour to make it believed, that the Lords are sheltered from their just debts; whereas every one knows, a Lord's goods and effects are liable to the pursuit of his creditors, though his person is always protected. This Author and I differ on every account, as to what relates to this branch of the Legislature. They seem to me to have been for many years, and to be at present, a just and honourable body. This, I think, is owing to the frame of that body, and the situation it

* P. 286, 287.

is

THE PLEBEIAN.

N° III. MONDAY, MARCH 30, 1719.

BY A MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

FARTHER CONSIDERATIONS UPON THE REPORTS, RELATING TO THE PEERAGE.

THE PLEBEIAN expected before now to have heard again from the OLD WHIG, especially as to his making good the last particular taken notice of in the Paper, Numb. II. which relates to the part he was pleased to affirm his Majesty had already taken in this affair; and for which there does not seem to be any foundation. However, as *age is apt to be slow*, the PLEBEIAN is willing to wait some time longer to be satisfied in that point. In the mean while, to shew with how much candor he proceeds in this dispute, he will not decline publishing in this paper a Speech made in a kind of a private-public * Company, for the Bill; in which all the arguments on that side the question are urged with that great strength of reason, and with all that advantage of oratory, for which the honourable person who made it is so deservedly admired.

The form in which it was sent to the PLEBEIAN is as follows:

* In a Committee of the House of Commons.

A SPEECH

A SPEECH in the Long Room at the Comptroller's *.

"Optat *Ephippia* BOS †."—HOR. 1 Ep. xiv. 43.

"Mr. BLADEN,

"THOUGH the worthy gentleman that "ſpoke laſt has repreſented the Bill that occa- "ſions this meeting as deſtructive of all that "ought to be dear to every one that values "his country, yet I am not aſhamed to appear "for it *with all the little zeal I am maſter of.* "According to the *way that I have the honour* "*of thinking of this matter*, this ſeems to me to "be the beſt Bill that ever was offered us, and "therefore *I ſhall be for it to the laſt drop of my* "*breath.* I wiſh any gentleman would lay his "hand upon his heart, and anſwer me whether "the making twelve Lords at once in a late "reign, was not the wickedeſt thing that ever "was heard of. And ſuch a thing I am certain "may be attempted again, if we do not ſhew "them a *new game*, and give them *one and thirty* "of our own friends, to prevent any ſuch prac- "tice for the future. The worthy gentleman "was pleaſed to ſay, That the noble Lord who "was the author of that advice might in ſome "meaſure be excuſed, if that matter is com- "pared with what is now propoſed.

* MARTIN BLADEN, Eſq; Chairman of the Committee on the Peerage Bill, was Comptroller of the Mint.

† "The Ox would Trappings wear." DUNCOMBE.

"That Lord ſays, he plainly ſhewed that "he thought what he did was a juſtifiable action, "becauſe he left the door open for himſelf to "to be called to account for it, in the ſame "manner as all other Miniſters had done before "him; and did not endeavour to put himſelf "out of all reach, by fixing thoſe perſons to be "his judges, who concurred with him in what "he did. Sir, I muſt tell that worthy gentle-"man, that though it has often happened that "wicked men have been infatuated, and ſlipped "their opportunity; yet that ſhould not prevent "honeſt gentlemen from providing for their "own ſafety upon the like occaſion. In all "theſe caſes, that worthy perſon added, that we "ought to conſider *quo animo* a man acts. I "have already given my judgement in another "place as to thoſe words, and I ſhall give the "ſame opinion here again. The gentleman, he "thinks that this is a very bad Bill; that is "his *quo animo*. I think it a very good one; "that is my *quo animo*. As to what he ſaid "about the Scotch Lords, that this would "be invading their property, and taking away "their birthright, out of a pretence of curing "a public inconvenience; and that, in the ſame "way of arguing, any Parliament may as well "take away the Funds; nothing being more "inconvenient to the publick, than paying ſuch

" great and endleſs taxes: I hope the gentleman " will allow there is a great deal of difference " between what is done by friends, and what " is done by enemies. If we do take away " their property, I hope there is nobody here " that imagines that we do it out of ill- " will; and the world muſt allow, that what is " done is rather out of kindneſs to ourſelves, " than out of malice to them. Beſides, I have " been informed by a very *Honourable Gentle-* " *man, That three of them are Boys at ſchool*; " and I hope nobody can imagine at this time " of day, that any of thoſe Gentlemen, for " whom I own I have the greateſt eſteem, " would be ſo barbarous *as to hurt young boys,* " *out of an averſion to their perſons.* As for " thoſe of *riper years*, there are ſeveral of them " *Jacobites*, as the ſame *Honourable Perſon* has " aſſured me; and I hope no ſuch ſort of people " will meet with any encouragement here. " Gentlemen are pleaſed to dwell much upon " the Scotch Nobility in this caſe, as if their " Repreſentatives intended to take their property " from them; whereas it is very plain, they " intend to make a Pr—— of them; and is not " that the ſame thing to the whole nation, ſo " long as it is all amongſt their *own countrymen?* " And therefore I cannot imagine how any body " can be ſo abſurd, as to look upon this as a

"breach of the Union: And I hope we ſhall "hear no more of that matter.

"There has been one thing often inſinuated "in this debate, as if ſome gentlemen were in- "fluenced to come into this propoſal *by aſſurance* "*of Peerages*, as if *they had warrants in their* "*pockets*, and I do not know what. For my "part, Sir, I act according to the beſt of my "*underſtanding*, and none of thoſe mean con- "ſiderations can have any weight with me. As "for all their titles and honours, *I caſt them all* "*behind my back, like chaff before the wind*. For "all which reaſons, I ſhall be heartily for the "Bill."

*** "The PATRICIAN, N° III. was publiſhed, April 4, 1729.

"We are beſt of all led to

"Mens principles by what they do." HUD.

On the ſame day appeared, "The MODERATOR, N° I. To be "continued occaſionally. The Arguments for and againſt ſuch a Bill as "is talked of, for regulating the Peerage, fairly ſtated, with ſome Re- "flexions upon the whole. By a Member of Parliament, *Media u-* "*tiſſimus*. Printed for J. Roberts, Price 6d." This ſeems to have been the only Number.

"The complicated Queſtion divided, upon the Bill now depending in "Parliament, relating to Peerage, written by Mr. ASGILL. Sold by "J. Darby and J. Roberts, Price 6d."

"Remarks on a Pamphlet, intituled, The Thoughts of a Member "of the Lower Houſe. Printed for J. Roberts, Price 6d."

On the 11th of April, 1719, the fourth Number of the PATRICIAN was publiſhed, with this note from the CATO of Mr. ADDISON.

"—While the Fathers of the Senate meet

"In cloſe debate —

"With love of Freedom —

"I'll thunder in their ears their country's cauſe,

"And try to rouſe up all that's Britiſh in them."

THE

THE OLD WHIG,

N° 2. THURSDAY, APRIL 2, 1719.

WITH

REMARKS UPON THE PLEBEIAN.

" ——————— Eja!
" Quid ſtatis? Nolint. Atqui licet eſſe beatis.
" Quid cauſæ eſt, meritò quin illis Jupiter ambas
" Iratus buccas inflet; neque ſe fore poſthàc
" Tam facilem dicat?" HOR. 1 Sat. i. 18.

" Why ſtand you thus? whence ſprings this ſtrange
" delay?
" None will be bleſs'd, yet every mortal may.
" Since Heaven, incens'd, no more will condeſcend
" To their next ſuit, a gracious ear to lend."
SHARD.

THE Author of the PLEBEIAN, to ſhew himſelf a pefect maſter *in the vocation of Pamphlet-writing*, begins like a ſon of *Grubſtreet*, with declaring the greateſt eſteem he has for himſelf, and the contempt he entertains for the ſcribblers of the age. One would think, by his way of repreſenting it, that the unexpected appearance of his pamphlet was as great a ſurprize upon the world as that of the late meteor, or indeed ſomething more terrible, if you will believe the Author's magnificent deſcription of his own performance. *The* PLEBEIAN †, ſays he,

* See pp. 253. 543. † P. 310.

ſtarting forth unexpectedly, they were forced like people in a ſurprize, or on an invaſion, to march immediately any troops they had. If Cardinal *Alberoni's* attempt, which furniſhes the alluſion, ſucceeds no better than that of his friend the Pamphleteer, he will not have much to boaſt of.

Our Author, in his triumphant progreſs, firſt animadverts on a Writer, whom he ſays he never read, which being my own caſe, I ſhall leave that Writer to defend himſelf. The ſecond he mentions, conſidering the ſtrength of his arguments, and the cloſeneſs of his reaſoning, deſerved a little more regard from the PLEBEIAN, who, it ſeems, *with much ado went through the performance.* This would certainly have been true, had he gone through it with a deſign to anſwer it.

Having routed Baronius, *and confounded* Bellarmine, *paſs we on to the next*, ſaid the Country Curate to his admiring audience. Our Author purſues his conqueſts with the ſame ſatisfaction and intrepidity. In the firſt place he is angry with a writer for aſſuming the name of the OLD WHIG, who may more juſtly recriminate upon this Author for taking that of the PLEBEIAN, a title which he is by no means fond of retaining, if we may give credit to many ſhrewd gueſſers. But he tells the OLD WHIG *, that he *expected* from that title *no leſs than the utmoſt wrath and*

* P. 312.

indig-

indignation againſt the Houſe of Lords. How does this agree with the cenſure he paſſes upon him afterwards, for *treating that ſpecies in ſuch a manner as he dares not venture to repeat* *! I muſt however remind this Author of the *Milk* with which he *nurſes our Nobles*, not to omit his *ſtagnated Pool*; paſſages of ſuch a nature, that, in imitation of the Author, I ſhall diſpatch them with an *Horreſco referens!*

The Author, in the next paragraph, gives us a definition of the point in debate, *viz.* that *it is a Jumble* † *and a Hodge-Podge*; a moſt clear, comprehenſive, and elegant account of the matter!

The Author then continues his animoſities againſt the Ephori of *Lacedæmon*; but this paſſage I ſhall wave for two reaſons: Firſt, becauſe it is nothing to the purpoſe; Secondly, becauſe I am informed there are two or three keen diſputants, who will return a proper anſwer to it, when they have diſcovered the Author.

The *Plebeian* proceeds to detect an imaginary miſtake in the OLD WHIG, for having aſſerted that *there has been as great an alteration in one branch of the Legiſlature, as is now propoſed to be made in another.* A fact immediately puts an end to a diſpute, and, in the caſe before us, ſtands thus:

* P. 332. † P. 312.

King Henry VIII. added to the House of Commons —	38 Members.
King Edward VI. — —	44
Queen Mary — —	25
Queen Elizabeth — —	62
King James I. — —	27

The queſtion now is, whether the reſtraining the number of the Houſe of Commons to what it is at preſent, was not as great an alteration in that branch of the Legiſlature, as the reſtriction now propoſed would be to the other branch of the Legiſlature, ſhould it take place in it. To which I ſhall add the following queſtion: Whether the inconveniences, ariſing from that continual increaſe in the Houſe of Commons, did not make the reſtraint upon it prudent and neceſſary; and, Whether, if the like inconveniences ariſe from this perpetually increaſing Houſe of Lords, it is not as neceſſary and as prudent to put a ſtop to it? As for the little towns of *Watchet* and *Dunſter*, our Author can draw nothing from them to the advantage of his cauſe, if he can beſtow labour and time enough, of which he finds it neceſſary to be very ſparing in this argument, to peruſe the printed liſt of counties and boroughs, to whom the privilege of ſending Repreſentatives to Parliament was granted or reſtored by the ſeveral Princes abovementioned; and to anſwer the ſhort query propoſed to him at the end of it, with relation to Queen Elizabeth. After

After having propoſed theſe queſtions in plain terms, I come in the next place to one of the PLEBEIAN's, which is carried on in metaphor, till it ends in ſomething that is paſt my underſtanding. *But theſe retrenchments being now made, the queſtion,* ſays he, *at preſent is, whether the Commons ought to go on ſtripping the Crown of every jewel, till it becomes leſs reſplendent than the Doge of* Venice's *coronet, or leſs comfortable than the Sword-bearer's Cap of Maintenance* ?* I ſhall only confront this metaphorical query with one that is adapted to men of ordinary capacities. "Theſe retrenchments being made, whether "the Commons ought to accept the offer of the "Crown, to part with a prerogative that is ſtill "exorbitant and dangerous to the Community?"

But our Author's chief concern is for the poor Houſe of Commons, whom he repreſents as naked and defenceleſs, when the Crown, by loſing this prerogative, would be *leſs able to protect them againſt the Power of a Houſe of Lords* †. Who forbears laughing, when the Spaniſh Friar repreſents LITTLE DICKEY ‡, under the perſon of *Gomez*, inſulting the Colonel that was able to fright him out of his wits with a ſingle frown? *This Gomez,* ſays he, *flew upon him like a dragon, got him down, the Devil being ſtrong in him, and gave him baſtinado on baſtinado, and buffet upon*

* P. 316. † Ibid. ‡ See pp. 253. 339.

buffet, which the poor meek Colonel, being proſtrate, ſuffered with a moſt Chriſtian Patience. The improbability of the fact never fails to raiſe mirth in the audience; and one may venture to anſwer for a Britiſh Houſe of Commons, if we may gueſs from its conduct hitherto, that it will ſcarce be either ſo tame or ſo weak, as our Author ſuppoſes.

The PLEBEIAN, to turn off the force of the remark upon another paragraph, has recourſe to a ſhift that is of great uſe to controverſial Writers, by affirming that his Antagoniſt miſtakes his meaning. Let the impartial Reader judge whether an anſwer, that proves this alteration *would not be detrimental to the Houſe of Peers*, is not ſuited to an objection which ſays in ſo many words, that *it would be detrimental to the Houſe itſelf* *. But, ſays the PLEBEIAN in this his reply to the OLD WHIG, *It will not be detrimental to them in point of Power, but it will be detrimental on account of thoſe talents which ought to accompany Power, the want of which the Commons will feel in their judicature.* Which is, in other words, "I do not mean when I ſay that it *will be* "*detrimental to the Houſe of Peers itſelf*, that it "will be detrimental to the Peers, but that it "will be detrimental to the Commons." I appeal to any man, whether the OLD WHIG *igno-*

* P 317.

rantly

rantly miſtook the natural ſenſe of thoſe words, or whether the PLEBEIAN ignorantly expreſſed that which he now ſays was his meaning in thoſe words. The PLEBEIAN having in his former paper repreſented, that this old ſtanding body of Peers, without receiving numerous additions from time to time, would *become corrupt and offenſive like a ſtagnated Pool* *, tells us here in excuſe for them, that *they will be offenſive to others, but not perceive it themſelves.* If I could ſuppoſe, with the Author, that they would ever be in this lamentable pickle, I ſhould be of his opinion, that they ought to be *ſweetened by ſuch wholeſome, pure, and freſh ſtreams as are continually paſſing into them.*

The PLEBEIAN next objects to the OLD WHIG's calculation of the probable extinction of two Titles, taking one year with another. *By the calculation generally received,* ſays this Author, *I ſuppoſe he means the liſt publiſhed by way of prelude to this project* †. Whereas the OLD WHIG could not take that liſt for his calculation, but formed his calculation from that liſt, and from the nature of the alteration which is propoſed. This objection will immediately vaniſh upon diſcovering the fallacy of the PLEBEIAN's argument. He ſuppoſes no greater number of extinctions would happen among the Engliſh

* P. 317. † P. 318.

Lords,

thor will only go ſuch lengths with me, as to allow there ever has been a bad Sovereign, or, not to ſhock him with ſuch a ſuppoſition, that there ever has been a wicked Miniſtry, and that it is not utterly impoſſible but there may be ſuch in times to come, my argument ſtands entire. God be thanked, we are now bleſſed with a good King, and with the proſpect of ſuch for our days, but cannot anſwer for thoſe who are yet unborn, ſince they will ſtill be men, and therefore liable to imperfection.

The PLEBEIAN was hard-ſet by the anſwer of the OLD WHIG to his arguments, That the *Limitation of the number of the Lords would run the Conſtitution into an Ariſtocracy*, and has therefore very prudently ſhuffled the conſideration of that point under another head, where he forgets the OLD WHIG's reply to what was urged againſt his opinion in that caſe, ſo that he has viſibly given up the point which was moſt material in his firſt PLEBEIAN. The OLD WHIG's remark therefore ſtill ſtands out againſt him unanſwered, and plainly turns his own ill conſequence upon him, by ſhewing there is a viſible tendency to an Ariſtocracy as the Conſtitution now ſtands, which would be taken away by the alteration propoſed. But it is ungenerous to inſult a baffled adverſary; I ſhall therefore proceed to the next particular in diſpute.

The OLD WHIG affirms, that *the Power of giving money and raiſing taxes is confined to the body of the Commons,* and that *all the privileges together of the Lords are not equal to that One of commanding the Purſe of the community.* The PLEBEIAN allows the conſequence, but cavils at the poſition, which is a received maxim among the Commons or England, the Doctrine of the Houſe of Commons in particular, and eſtabliſhed by the practice of every Parliament in the memory of man. Let us now ſee what the PLEBEIAN affirms in contradiction to it, and by the way obſerve whether he perſonates his part well, and ſpeaks the language of one who writes himſelf a *Member of the Houſe of Commons.* The Author aſſerts, That *whether a Money-bill may not originally take its riſe in the Houſe of Lords, is a point never yet clearly given up by their Lordſhips, if he is not very much miſinformed.* This point, if I am not very much miſinformed, was never claimed by the Houſe of Lords, and has not a ſingle precedent in the practice of that body in the Legiſlature. He afterwards aſſerts that *the Commons have no more power over their fellow ſubjects eſtates than the Lords* *. Is not the power of granting a ſupply, fixing the quantum of that ſupply, appropriating every part of it to particular uſes, and ſettling the Ways and Means

* P. 326.

for

for raiſing it; is not this power over their fellow-ſubjects eſtates much greater than that of the Lords, who can neither add to, diminiſh, nor alter any one of theſe particulars? And if the power of the Commons extends itſelf to all theſe points, how can the Author further affirm, that *all which is peculiar to the Commons in this matter is, that they have hitherto been allowed to chuſe what tax they judged eaſieſt for the people!* But what ſhadow of reaſon is there for him to proceed in aſſerting, that *every day's experience ſhews us, that if the Lords differ in opinion from the Commons, their Power is at an end*; ſince, on the contrary, experience ſhews us, that whenever the Lords have pretended to ſuch a power, they have always been over-ruled by the Commons! Our Author tells us, *the concurrence of the Lords is as neceſſary to a Money-bill as to any other Bill* *. That is not denied; but he muſt allow that the Lords concurrence to a Money-bill is not of the ſame nature with their concurrence to any other Bill, which they may undoubtedly change, amend, and return, upon the hands of the Houſe of Commons, for their concurrence in ſuch amendments as the Lords ſhall think proper. Beſides, to ſhew the PLEBEIAN how much the purſe of the community is at the command of the Commons, let him conſider the caſe of a vote of credit,

* P. 321.

which is tranſacted wholly between the Sovereign and the Lower Houſe. To this we may add, that the Sovereign himſelf, in his Speeches to Parliament, applies that part which relates to money to the Houſe of Commons, diſtinct from that of the Lords; by which method it is plain the Crown ſuppoſes thoſe privileges are veſted in the Houſe of Commons, to which every Member of that Houſe has always pretended, except the preſent Author.

The PLEBEIAN in the next paragraph makes uſe of a very ſure and wiſe method of confounding his antagoniſt, by putting his own ſenſe upon a paſſage in that Author's pamphlet. The OLD WHIG repreſents how dangerous it would be to our conſtitution, if the Crown, which is already poſſeſſed of a certain means to over-rule one branch of the Legiſlature, ſhould ever be able to influence the Elections of a Houſe of Commons, ſo as to gain one to its meaſures; in which caſe, if liberty was endangered in the Lower Houſe, it could not make a ſtand in the other. The PLEBEIAN perverts this meaning after the following manner; *This Author*, ſays he, *aſſures us, that the Crown has Power enough to gain a Houſe of Commons of what complexion it pleaſes*; and, after puzzling himſelf in his own voluntary blunder, is diſpleaſed with the OLD WHIG for not propoſing to cure an inconvenience which

he

he never affirmed to be in the Houſe of Commons, as well as that which he proves to be in the Houſe of Lords; ſo that he would have had him quit the ſubject which he had undertaken, to ſpeak of one which he had nothing to do with. But ſuppoſing the PLEBEIAN had rightly ſtated the ſenſe of the Author, the inconvenience in the Houſe of Lords is that which is woven into its very Conſtitution, and therefore at all times expoſes us to its ill conſequences; whereas what the PLEBEIAN ſuggeſts with regard to the Houſe of Commons is only extrinſic, and accidental to that body, if it ever happens in it.

It is not probable that this diſpute between the PLEBEIAN and the OLD WHIG will laſt many weeks: but, if there was time to diſcuſs the whole point, I think it may be ſhown to a demonſtration, that the check of the Crown upon the Houſe of Commons, which is the Power of *Diſſolution*, is, by infinite degrees, a weaker check than that it has in the preſent Conſtitution upon the Houſe of Lords, which is the power of *adding* to it what number, at what time, and for what purpoſe it pleaſes: nay, that the power of Diſſolution is alſo in its nature a check upon the Houſe of Lords, as it diſſolves them in a Legiſlative capacity, and may break the moſt dangerous cabals againſt the Crown, which are ſuch as may be formed between the leaders of the

Two

Two Houſes. Theſe two points, if drawn out into ſuch conſiderations as naturally riſe from them, would fully eſtabliſh the neceſſity of three branches in a perfect Legiſlature, and demonſtrate that they ſhould be ſo far ſeparate and diſtinct from each other, as is eſſential to Legiſlative Bodies: Or, as the OLD WHIG has before explained it, "If one part of the Legi- "ſlature may any ways be inveſted with a "power to force either of the other Two to "concur with it, the Legiſlative Power is in "reality, whatever it may pretend to, divided "into no more than two branches."

I have hitherto followed the PLEBEIAN in his own method, by examining, *Firſt*, his replies to the objections made by the OLD WHIG; and come now to his *Second* general head, wherein he formally propoſes to *conſider the argument as the* OLD WHIG *ſtates it himſelf*. And here I was not a little ſurprized to find, that, inſtead of anſwering the ſeveral diſtinct arguments urged by that Author in defence of the bill, as drawn from the nature of Government in general, from the Britiſh Conſtitution, from its effects on the Crown, on the Houſe of Commons, on the whole body of the Engliſh Commonalty, and from the ill conſequences it would remedy in the preſent Conſtitution; the PLEBEIAN contents himſelf with attacking but one ſingle argu-

ment of his Antagoniſt. Till the PLEBEIAN ſhall have anſwered thoſe other points, I ſhall take it for granted that he gives them up. Not to multiply words, I believe every Reader will allow me that an Author is not to be much regarded, who writes profeſſedly in anſwer to a diſcourſe which proceeds on many arguments, when he ſingles out that argument only which he thinks is the weakeſt; eſpecially when he fails in his anſwer even to that ſingle argument. A famous French Author compares the imaginary triumphs of ſuch a kind of diſputant, whom he was then dealing with, to thoſe of CLAUDIUS, which, inſtead of being repreſented by the ſtrong towns he had taken, and the armies he had defeated, were teſtified to the people of ROME, by a preſent of cockle-ſhells that he had gathered up on the ſea-ſhore.

But to come to the matter before us. The OLD WHIG, after having conſidered it in ſeveral views, examines it with regard to the whole bulk of the Britiſh Commons. Under this head he has the following words: "But the great point, "and which ought to carry the chief weight "with us in this caſe, is, that the alterations "now propoſed will give ſuch a mighty power "to the bulk of the Engliſh Commons, as can "be never counterbalanced by the body of the "Nobility." Now, what the OLD WHIG here calls

calls the Great Point with regard to the Commonalty of England, the PLEBEIAN inſinuates he calls the Great Point with regard to the whole controverſy, and deſcants upon it accordingly. Whereas it is evident the Author inſiſts upon many points as great as this in other views of the queſtion. The OLD WHIG affirms, that the Commonalty has infinitely more wealth than the Nobility, which was the proper conſideration of this place. The PLEBEIAN returns for anſwer, that the Commonalty is indeed much richer than the Nobility, but that the Houſe of Commons is not ſo rich; which was not the proper conſideration of this place. It is impoſſible for a diſputant to loſe the cauſe, who is a maſter of ſuch diſtinctions. I remember I was once preſent at an Univerſity Diſputation, which was managed on the one ſide by a notable *Peripatetick*. The queſtion which he defended in the negative was, *Whether Comets are above the Moon?* The Sophiſter, being preſſed very hard by the force of demonſtration, very gravely extricated himſelf out of it by the following diſtinction. *Comets*, ſaid he, *are two-fold*, Supra-lunar *and* Sub-lunar. *That* Supra-lunar *Comets are above the Moon I do allow; but that* Sub-lunar *Comets are above the Moon I utterly deny. And it is of this latter kind of Comets that the Queſtion is to be underſtood.*

The fallacy of the PLEBEIAN's anſwer being thus far diſcovered, all that he further adds in his own way of arguing will be eaſily confuted by unraveling the matter which he has very artificially perplexed. The OLD WHIG ſuppoſes that every Lord in the Legiſlature, taken one with another, may be worth 5000l. a year, in which, for argument's ſake, every one knows his conceſſion has been vaſtly too liberal. The PLEBEIAN values every Member of the Houſe of Commons at 800l *per annum* one with another, in which it is plain he has been exceeding ſcanty. Nay, many are of opinion, that upon caſting up the whole ſum of property that now reſides in the Houſe of Lords, it would not exceed that which is in the Houſe of Commons. If this particular approaches to the truth, all arguments of a ſuperior Power ariſing from its greater property fall to the ground of themſelves, as being raiſed on a falſe foundation. To which I muſt further add, that if this increaſing Power ſtill continues in the Crown, the Property of the Houſe of Peers will *indiſputably* ſurmount that of the Houſe of Commons; and that, on the contrary, if the Bill paſſes, it viſibly tends to prevent the impoveriſhment of the Houſe of Commons in point of property, and to fill it with men of ſuch eſtates as in a few years will be more than a counterbalance

balance to the Houſe of Lords, even under this view.

But, further to ſhew the weakneſs of the PLEBEIAN's reaſonings upon this head, I will allow that the Houſe of Lords enjoy at preſent, and may ſtill continue to enjoy, a greater ſhare of property than the Houſe of Commons. But notwithſtanding this conceſſion, to which the nature of the thing does not oblige me, it is ſtill evident that the immenſe property which ſubſiſts in the bulk of the Engliſh Commons will render their Repreſentatives more powerful than the Body of the Lords. This will plainly appear from conſidering the very nature of Repreſentatives; from thoſe junctures which can poſſibly give them an occaſion of exerting their Power; and from matter of fact.

It is implied in the very nature of Repreſentatives, that they are backed with the Power of thoſe whom they repreſent; as the demands of a Plenipotentiary, let his perſonal wealth or power be as little as you pleaſe, have the ſame weight with them as if they were made by the Perſon of his Principal. I will beg leave to borrow from the PLEBEIAN an example of the Bank of England, which, as he makes uſe of it, has no manner of analogy with the ſubject of the diſpute. Is not the whole ſtock of that numerous Community under the guidance of a

few Directors? And will any one ſay, that theſe Directors have no other influence on the publick, than what ariſes to them from the ſhare which they perſonally enjoy in that ſtock? The Author urges that the Peers are principals, which in reality is the reaſon why their Power is not to be apprehended in oppoſition to that of the Commons: whereas, were they only Repreſentatives of a Body immenſely rich and numerous, they would, beſide their own perſonal Property, have ſuch a ſupport as would make them truly formidable. The whole Commons of England are the Principals on one ſide, as the Lords are the Principals on the other; and which of theſe Principals are armed with moſt Power and Property?

To conſider in the next place thoſe junctures that can poſſibly give them an occaſion of exerting their Power. It is on both ſides ſuppoſed to be in ſuch caſes as will affect the rights of the Engliſh Commonalty, in which caſe every Commoner of England is as much concerned as any of their Repreſentatives. Thus if four London Citizens, to make the caſe exactly parallel, were deputed to maintain the rights of their Principals, as Citizens, who can imagine that they would not be ſupported by the whole Power and Property of the City, and not be too hard for any two or three great men, who had

had ten times their perſonal eſtates? Now as the PLEBEIAN's ſuppoſition reduces things to the laſt extremity, it can only take place in a rupture, which is never likely to happen. And in that caſe, as theſe two great bodies muſt act ſeparately, there is no room for conſidering how far the Concurrence of the Houſe of Lords is neceſſary in a Money-bill, which entirely takes away the Author's reaſoning in page 327.

But matters of fact are the beſt arguments. We both agree that Power ariſes out of Property; and the Author himſelf has given an inſtance of the Power of the Houſe of Commons in having been able to effect the ruin of the Monarchy and Peerage. Whence had the Commons this Power, but from being ſupported by their Principals?

The PLEBEIAN thinks he ſtrengthens his point, by adding that the Lords are a fixed Body. To this I might reply, that the Principals of the Houſe of Commons are as fixed a Body as the Lords; and therefore, however their Repreſentatives may vary, they will continue intent, from age to age, to aſſert and vindicate their peculiar rights and privileges, unleſs we can believe that any body of men will act againſt thoſe two ſtrong motives of ſelf-intereſt and ſelf preſervation. I might further venture to ſay, that men of the greateſt wealth and weight in the

Houſe of Commons are almoſt as ſure of a ſeat there, as if it came to them by inheritance. But ſuppoſing the Houſe of Lords never ſo much fixed, and ſo manageable by two or three great men (for which very reaſon additions are very often made to them, which the alteration would prevent), we have ſeen that their United Power, if their number is limited, can never be a match for that of the Houſe of Commons, ſuppoſing ſtill ſuch a rupture as the PLEBEIAN all along imagines, in which each body is to act ſeparately for itſelf.

The Author, in the remaining part of his pamphlet, appears like every Writer that is driven out of all his holds. He endeavours to ſet the Crown, and the whole body of Peers, upon his adverſary; accuſes him in effect of *Scandalum Magnatum*; nay, and gives very broad intimations that he ought to be indicted for High-Treaſon.

I ſhould not have given myſelf, or the publick, all this trouble, had I not been ſo peremptorily called to it by the laſt PLEBEIAN. I do aſſure him, my ſilence hitherto was not the effect of old age, as it has made me *ſlow*, but to tell him the truth, as it has made me a little *teſty*, and conſequently impatient of contradiction, when I find myſelf in the right. I muſt own, however, that the writer of the PLEBEIAN has made the

the moſt of a weak cauſe, and do believe that a good one would ſhine in his hands; for which reaſon I ſhall adviſe him, as a friend, if he goes on in his *new vocation*, to take care that he be as happy in the choice of his ſubject, as he is in the talents of a Pamphleteer.

*** The Author of a Pamphlet, intituled, "Six Queſtions, ſtated and "anſwered, upon which the whole force of the Arguments for and "againſt the Peerage Bill depends, printed for J. Roberts, 1719," 8vo, ſets out thus: "It is my opinion that much darkneſs and perplexity "have been introduced into the queſtion now in agitation, by words "and things, very foreign to a matter which touches only the peculiar "conſtitution of Government, in which we of this Nation are concerned. "If we ſtrip the debate of ſuch words as PATRICIAN and PLEBEIAN, "which do not at all anſwer to LORDS and COMMONS joined with a "KING in all Acts of Legiſlation: If we leave off talking of the nature "of ARISTOCRACIES and DEMOCRACIES, which only amuſe and diſ-"tract the mind of the enquirer: If we take out of the queſtion all al-"luſions to the EPHORI of the *Lacedæmonians*, as diſtant in their con-"dition from the ſtate of our PEERS, as in the ſituation of their country; "all ſtories of the NOBLES of *Denmark*, or of the Power of our BARONS "in times of old, which has no relation to the Power of the PEERS of "*Great Britain*, in the condition in which this Bill leaves them, ſur-"rounded with a World of rich and free Commoners: I ſay, if theſe and "the like words and things be quite removed, and the conſideration of "Men confined to a few points which ought, and which muſt, determine "the equity or iniquity, the wiſdom or weakneſs, of the ſcheme now "before the Parliament, we might hope that Gentlemen might, on both "ſides, be more clear, and leſs perplexed, in their ſentiments than they "yet ſeem to be."

THE

THE PLEBEIAN.

N° IV. MONDAY, APRIL 6, 1719.

CONSIDERATIONS UPON THE REPORTS ABOUT THE PEERAGE, CONTINUED; IN PARTICULAR, WITH RELATION TO THE SCOTS NOBILITY. WITH REMARKS ON THE PATRICIAN, No. II. AND THE OLD WHIG, No. II.

BY A MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

" ———Quorum melior ſententia menti.
" — Pelago Danaum inſidias, ſuſpectaque dona
" Præcipitare jubent." VIRG. Æn ii. 35.

——The reſt, of ſounder mind,
The fatal preſent to the flames deſign'd,
Or to the watery deep. DRYDEN.

THE PLEBEIAN has been obliged to object to the OLD WHIG, one of the *Infirmities* of *Age*, viz. *Slowneſs*; and he muſt now take notice of another, though he does it with great reluctance, that is, *want of Memory*; for the *old Gentleman* ſeems to have forgot, that at his firſt appearance he promiſed the publick a particular Treatiſe on the ſubject of the *Peerage*, as it relates to *Scotland*, p. 304.

There is at preſent very little probability that he will be ſo good as his word, and therefore I ſhall

ſhall not delay any longer publiſhing ſomething that is come to my hands on that head, which in my opinion may be of uſe in this controverſy. Indeed, I am informed, that it has already been produced in a weekly pamphlet, which very few people, I fear, ever read, called, *The Honeſt Gentleman*; and therefore I hope at leaſt to be excuſed in making it more public, and in uſing this worthy perſon as an ally in this quarrel, ſince I have ſo ſtrong a confederacy againſt me. What I am ſpeaking of, is a *Letter from a Nobleman of* Scotland *to a Gentleman of* England. When I mention a Scotiſh Nobleman, I would not have it underſtood to be one of the *Elect*, but one of the *Outcaſts*; and as the caſe of thoſe unfortunate perſons will be, if poſſible, more abject and deplorable than that of the Commons of England, it is not ſtrange that the PLEBEIAN ſhould endeavour to do them what ſervice he can.

THE LETTER IS AS FOLLOWS.

"SIR,

"IF the pleaſure of doing good be indeed "its own reward, you will eaſily excuſe the "trouble of this letter. Nothing is ſo talka-"tive as misfortune: But they ſurely may be "allowed to ſpeak for themſelves, who, as they

"find

" find to their great ſurprize, have none to ſpeak
" for them.

" I was born a Peer of Scotland, formerly a
" character of ſome importance, but at preſent
" (I am afraid) degenerating into ſo little ſig-
" nificancy, that perhaps this is the laſt time
" there will be any reputation to me in own-
" ing it.

" Every one that is acquainted with our hiſ-
" tory ſees very well how much we gained, and
" what we loſt, by the Union. We loſt our
" Senate and our Senators; we loſt the ſervice
" of many of our great men, and they ſeem to
" have loſt —— I know not what. But yet it
" might be remembered by your free and ge-
" nerous nation, that when we reſigned ourſelves
" to that Union, we intended at leaſt to have
" retained the rights of men and ſubjects, with-
" out the leaſt ſuſpicion of any encroachments
" upon us, which you have ever ſo bravely re-
" jected from yourſelves. And even at this
" Union, there were ſome articles agreed to,
" which ſeem to make for our country, and
" which it would be very proper for the party
" in the preſent deſign to conſult; and if after
" that they can deliberately give us up, they
" merit all the reproaches that the injuries of a
" betrayed ruined people can extort from them.
" We juſtly call ourſelves a ruined people: for
" if

" if at preſent we are any thing ſhort of it, " what may we not expect from thoſe, if any " ſuch there are, who ſhall dare to aſſume a " Power which we never gave them; and that " not to be uſed for our advantage, but to the " injury of the nation they repreſent, and the " Peerage of which they are part? It is certain, " a principle that can at any time prevail above " the Love of one's country, may engage them " at ſome time or other in any deſigns, to the " very extinction of it.

" Next to the pleaſure that flows from the " conſcious innocence of an honeſt heart and " a good meaning, the art of diſguiſing and pal- " liating a bad one gives the greateſt, though " the falſeſt ſatisfaction. Thus I have heard " it has been alledged by ſome who have been " too advantageouſly engaged on one ſide of " the queſtion, that there is a very ingenious " diſtinction to be made between abſolutely " violating ſuch and ſuch articles, and a com- " modious deviation from them, for certain " reaſons; though a plain man would not imme- " diately find out the real difference.

" I have read in very old books, that Juſtice " was once the end of Power, and that the " Great were ſuch as were meritorious and uſe- " ful. But if this Bill ſhould paſs, it would ſeem " that thoſe errors are to be exploded by this

" Bill;

" Bill; and yet many of the moſt antient fa-
" milies among us believe, that they and their
" deſcendants are thereby to be made unhappy
" and uneaſy to themſelves, and uſeleſs to their
" country. They think the title of a Lord is
" the moſt inſignificant part of his character;
" but when it is worn to adorn the merit and
" ſervices of a truly great Man, it expoſes Vir-
" tue in the moſt amiable light to univerſal
" emulation.—How irkſome will it be to many
" a great ſpirit to be thought a mere Lord, to
" reflect on the worth of his great anceſtors, and
" to inherit only their title; to have every talent
" of being uſeful, but the Power; to hear his
" fathers called good, and great, and wiſe, and
" himſelf his Lordſhip!--May we not expect that
" if great men ſhould find themſelves thus
" managed out of their birth-rights, they will
" not eaſily reſign themſelves to a life of indo-
" lence and ſupineneſs, but ſtill hope that ſome
" occaſion or other may court them to action
" elſewhere? God forbid it ſhould be againſt
" that country which ſhall have ſo injuriouſly
" rendered them ſupernumerary to its happineſs,
" and which would then perhaps too late find
" them fatal to it.

" In ſuch caſe they will, no doubt, pretend in
" their juſtification, that by having been thus
" diveſted of their birth-right, in repreſenting

" themſelves, or the right at leaſt of electing " their Repreſentatives, that they apprehended " they were implicitly diſclaimed by the Go- " vernment, and reduced to the condition of " outlaws, and thereby diſcharged from the " obligations and laws of ſociety.

" But as the injuries, which we fear may be " done us by this Bill, do not ſo nearly affect " you, I might give ſeveral reaſons, why as " Engliſhmen you ſhould reject it; and ſhew " you, that at the ſame time that it will be the " greateſt diſcouragement to the merit of the " Commonalty, it may end in equal diſhonour " to the Peerage.

" As to the Commonalty, it is apparent that " almoſt every great Genius has for a long time " been produced among them, and all the poſts " of ſervice have been filled by ſuch who were " born Commoners, while the offices of mere " favour and ſhow have been ſupplied from elſe- " where. The reaſon of this is evident. A " Commoner finds a great deal of merit neceſ- " ſary to his character, as an *Equivalent* for the " want of Quality; while the young Lord, in- " finitely ſatisfied with the adulations of his " creatures and dependants, with eaſe believes " what is their intereſt to tell him, and ſo aims " no higher. But, ſhould this Bill paſs, a Com- " moner will have as little incitement to great

" actions

" actions as a Peer, and be as far below the
" poſſibility of riſing, as a Lord is often above it.
' As to the Peerage, if we look into their
" aſſembly, and compare the many that ſit there
" by right of deſcent, with the characters of
" thoſe who were firſt created to thoſe honours,
" and conſider the modern education by which
" they are uſually formed to their future great-
" neſs, how much looſeneſs, flattery, and falſe
" politeneſs, they affect from their firſt entrance
" into life; we ſhall be able to form ſome notion
" of what ſort of Geniuſes that aſſembly will be
" compoſed twenty years hence, in caſe this Bill
" ſhould paſs, which is ever to be our ſupreme
" court of Judicature, but will be incapable of
" receiving into it even the moſt conſpicuous
" merit of the age: I fancy it will very little
" reſemble the body of antient Barons of this
" Kingdom, whoſe actions ſupply ſuch an il-
" luſtrious part of our hiſtory. On the contrary,
" we may expect, that as they have before been
" voted *uſeleſs*, they will be in danger of being
" really ſo; and if that is ever the caſe, though
" now and then a family ſhould be extinct, and
" thereby an obſtacle to virtuous actions be
" removed, it will be in vain to endeavour to
" retrieve their Honour, by thinking to ſupply
" the extinction with a man of worth and merit,
" who will not be over-fond of making one in
" ſo

" ſo indifferent an aſſembly. So that this pro-
" ject, which pretends to do ſo much for the
" honour of the Houſe, may prove as injurious
" to it, as to every one that is excluded from it.

" A Commoner ſhould not too careleſsly re-
" ply to this objection, That the more inſigni-
" ficant that Houſe appears, the greater weight
" is in the Repreſentatives of the people; for
" the Commons are the guardians of the Con-
" ſtitution in general, as well as the private
" rights of their Electors in particular: beſides,
" it does not ſeem upon juſt reflection ſo expe-
" dient, that that Court, which is the *dernier*
" *reſort* of Juſtice, ſhould ever be filled with
" ſuch Judges as they might deſpair or diſdain
" to apply to for relief.

" But, in fine, if public juſtice is as obli-
" gatory as private; if what is ſo injurious to
" our Country may be as fatal to yours; if
" ſuch a Bill would be the greateſt provocation
" to diſaffection and uneaſineſs to a powerful body
" among us, and the greateſt diſcouragement to
" merit both to you and us; if it would prove
" prejudicial to the reputation of the Peerage,
" though not to their power, which is worſt of
" all, for at the ſame time it would lay the foun-
" dation of a moſt wretched Ariſtocracy; if the
" notions of Faith and Honour are not obliter-
" ated; if the moſt ſolemn engagements are any

" more than words; if we ought not to violate " the Rights of Nations for mere private conve- " nience; this Bill will be rejected with the de- " teſtation with which all true Britons will treat " every incroachment on the rights of mankind, " or their fellow-ſubjects. I am, Sir, &c."

I cannot but think that what this Noble Briton has here ſaid on the propoſal for turning ſixteen Scottiſh elective Peers into twenty-five hereditary ones, to the excluſion of all the reſt of their principals, muſt make great impreſſion upon every one that thoroughly conſiders it. I have not yet troubled the publick, throughout the whole courſe of this affair, with my thoughts on this point. For my part, I am ſo far from being of opinion that this *precarious ſituation* of the Scotch Peers is an *Evil* in the Body of the Houſe of Lords, that wants to be remedied, that it ſeems to me to be a very *fortunate circumſtance, and the beſt remedy that can be provided for the Ill that both the Lords and Commons complain of.* Indeed, if the Lords can be ſatisfied with nothing leſs than being made *abſolutely Independent*, which, as it has been plainly ſhewn, is entirely deſtroying the Conſtitution; I muſt confeſs this will not anſwer their purpoſe: but if it be reaſonable they ſhould be under ſome influence of the Crown, as the other branch of the Legiſlature

is,

is, and, however, may be desirous that their dignity be not debased, nor their weight diminished by the frequent additions of Peers, which the necessities of affairs may require to be made to their Body; is it not in this case a *desirable circumstance*, that the Crown can change once in three or four, or a few years more at farthest, so many of their Members, as may answer the intentions of the Government, and not add to their number? And in like manner, if the Commons are apprehensive that the frequent draughts out of their Body, to make an over-balance in the House of Peers, are detrimental to their power, in point of property, by taking so many considerable estates from them; are they to be instrumental in changing that precarious situation of so many Members of the Upper House, as leaves it in the power of the Crown to make such alterations in that House, from time to time, as the Crown may think expedient, without taking one Member from the Commons?

Besides, there is a reason of another nature why the Commons, in my judgement, ought to rest very well satisfied that the Crown has this Power over so many Members of the other House; because it is just the same kind of Power as the Crown has over the Commons themselves. And in some circumstances this may prove even such a check upon the Crown

as the Commons may reap advantage from, and prevent the putting ſuch ſudden periods to their Being, as have been known formerly. Nay, I very much ſuſpect, that if the propoſed alteration ſhould be made, the effect of it would be very ſoon felt; and if ſo, I beg Gentlemen would conſider with themſelves, what reception they may in all probability meet with from the general Body of the Commons of England, immediately after their having given ſuch Power to the Houſe of Peers, as no one ever ventured to mention to their anceſtors. How this matter is underſtood in the country, we hear from all parts already; and this is indeed an *Advantage from the late Receſs* on the ſide of thoſe who are againſt the Bill.

But to return from this digreſſion. How little ſoever what has been ſaid may reliſh with ſome of thoſe of another body, I am ſpeaking here as a Commoner of England; as one that has no ambitious deſire of *being a Lord*, but very great apprehenſions of *being a Vaſſal*. As the Houſe of Lords now ſtands, there are ſeveral members of it in the ſame circumſtances with myſelf; what reaſon have I to conſent to any thing that ſhall put any of them into a more independent ſtate than I found them? Is there any one of their Lordſhips that would not laugh at a propoſal for making any numbers of the Commons

hereditary,

hereditary, who are now *all elective*, though it might be done with the ſame juſtice as to their principals? Their Lordſhips would all ſay, *That is the Conſtitution of the Houſe of* Commons, *and there we will leave it.* And has not this been the Conſtitution of the Houſe of Lords ever ſince the Britiſh nation was united?

It is allowed that, according to the treaties between the two kingdoms, confirmed by the moſt ſolemn Acts of Parliament, this is true. But then, ſay they, other things were promiſed, without which they would never have conſented to the Union. For my part, I have as bad an opinion of *oral tradition in Politicks, as in Religion*; and therefore nothing of this kind can weigh at all with me. But ſuppoſing that there is ſome inconvenience, in the preſent ſituation of the Peerage, to the Houſe of Lords, that difficulties may happen in relation to the ſeats of ſome Noblemen amongſt them; are not thoſe difficulties ariſen entirely from themſelves? And is it not an odd compliment to the Commons, that if the Lords *feel a thorn in their feet, they ſhould deſire the Commons to take it out, to put it into their own?* Surely they will never be brought to do this; much leſs to endanger their utter ruin, for the convenience of another body of men.

Whilſt I am writing this, the OLD WHIG, Number II. is come to my hands. I really thought he had been *departed*; and whether it be him*ſelf*, or his *Ghoſt* that walks, I am not thoroughly ſatisfied.

The firſt OLD WHIG, I muſt confeſs, had ſtated his argument, and was going on very regularly, if he had not been diſturbed in his progreſs; but this *ſecond* is as inconſiſtent as poſſible. In the firſt paragraph of the performance before me, he treats the PLEBEIAN as a *Grubſtreet*-writer; but in the laſt, and ſeveral other paragraphs, as a very *able ſhrewd fellow*.

As to his remarks on the PLEBEIAN, Numb. II. he owns himſelf, "That he was very unwil-"ling to have been concerned any farther in the "diſpute, and *nothing could have engaged him to* "*have given himſelf or the publick any more* "*trouble*, had he not been ſo peremptorily called "to it by the laſt PLEBEIAN *.

But as to what that PLEBEIAN calls upon him for, which was to make good what he had aſſerted in relation *to his Majeſty's Conceſſion*, he does not ſay one word about it. Indeed, in his *Motto* he hints at it, and a *Fellow-Labourer* of this Author has ſpoke out ſomething more plainly on this ſubject. Upon the whole, it is very extraordinary. Here is at preſent the greateſt favour or bounty, call it which you will, offered

* P. 260.

to

to the Commons, that ever was known, and the like it is probable will never be made to them again; and yet I do not know how it happens, they are so blind, or so perverse, that they will not see what is *so prodigiously for their good*; nay, one can hardly tell how to get them into it *by any means whatever*. The PATRICIAN says, "It is an affront of the highest nature to the "Crown, and a petty kind of Rebellion to refuse "this offer." And the OLD WHIG seems to be of opinion, that they deserve *to have their ears boxed for it*. As to the rest of his *Motto, Nil ultra quærò Plebeius* *. But whether this project was chiefly intended for the benefit of the Commons, I leave every one to judge from both these Authors, one of which plainly discovers, "That he has a prodigious concern for "innocent Ministers, and trembles for what "may happen to them from Kings who are yet "unborn †." But the PATRICIAN has two paragraphs, which I shall transcribe without any Commentary. "The general clamour, *&c.* as "if the design of limiting the Number of Peers, "and restraining the Prerogative of the Crown, "was at first projected with a view of insulting "the Prince of Wales, who by this proceeding "will be debarred the liberty of creating Peers

* Horace, 2 Sat. ii. 188.
"— My questions I restrain,
"A mean PLEBEIAN born." DUNCOMBE.

† P. 348.

" as his predeceſſors have done, is ſo low a re-
" flection on the preſent Miniſtry, that I ſhould
" not have regarded it, but that I find it a
" popular one *.

" In ſhort, we never know into whoſe hands
" the reins of Government may devolve. It
" therefore behoves us to ſecure our privileges,
" that we may not fall the victims of any aſpi-
" ring Prince's enraged diſpoſitions †."

But to return to the OLD WHIG. I confeſs, I am uncapable to anſwer what he calls his Remarks, or his Objections. When I talked to him laſt, it was, as to the Commons, upon a foot as he had ſtated it himſelf, That the Crown could have a Houſe of Commons of what complexion it pleaſed; which are his own words. As to the Lords, That they had a very conſiderable property of one million a hundred and ſeventy-five thouſand pounds *per annum:* But now he ſays all that was only a *Jeſt*. And as to the Commons, the Crown has no power at all over them; and as for the Lords, he pleads poverty in their behalf. And he behaves in the ſame evaſive contradictory manner, on every other point in diſpute between us. But what is worſt of all, he very frequently, for want of any the leaſt ſhadow of an argument, has recourſe to telling *old ſtories*, as if they were things that happened but yeſterday; which, I confeſs, is

* PATRICIAN, N° II. p. 8. † Ibid. p. 12.

another

another of the *defects of age*. And if he will not continue to be *testy*, I shall admonish him, that he has *every where* proved himself OLD, but *no* where a WHIG. As to what he seems to insinuate in relation to what is said in the second PLEBEIAN concerning the *Ephori*, the PLEBEIAN can maintain it by the best authority. *Crags* is the man I have all along depended upon on this head, and he says, *they led the most abandoned dissolute lives*; and certainly he ought to know. His words are these, *Quamvis ipsi* Ephori *viverent indulgentius & dissolutius*; p. 78.

The rest of this paragraph is very mean; and this Author's menaces in this place are as vain, as his compassion in another part of his pamphlet is insolent *.

I shall take notice but of one thing more in this pamphlet, which is the last paragraph, in these words:

"I must own, however, that the Writer of "the PLEBEIAN has made the best of a weak "cause; and do believe, that a good one would "shine in his hands; for which reason I shall "advise him as a friend, if he goes on in his "new vocation, to take care that he be as "happy in the choice of his subject, as he is in "the talents of a Pamphleteer."

Authors in these cases are named upon *suspicion*; and if it is right as to the OLD WHIG,

* See pp. 253. 339. 343.

I leave

I leave the world to judge of *this cauſe* by compariſon of this *performance* to his *other Writings*. And I ſhall ſay no more of what is writ *in ſupport of Vaſſalage*, but end this paper, by firing every free breaſt with that noble exhortation of the Tragedian:

Remember, O my Friends, the Laws, the Rights,
The generous Plan of Power, deliver'd down
From Age to Age by your renown'd Fore-fathers,
(So dearly bought, the price of ſo much Blood.)
O let it never periſh in your hands!
But piouſly tranſmit it to your Children.

Mr. *Addiſon's* Cato.

POSTSCRIPT.

I BEG pardon for giving my Reader this irregular trouble, having omitted ſomething of conſequence in this affair. It is ſaid, that by the Bill, which perhaps may be propoſed to the Commons*, his Majeſty is to have the naming of the

* On Monday, April 6, 1719, the day on which the Fourth PLEBEIAN was publiſhed, the PEERAGE BILL was reported in the Houſe of Lords, and ordered for a third reading on the 14th; but when that day arrived, a noble Lord in a very high ſtation obſerved, "That the "Bill had made a great noiſe, raiſed ſtrange apprehenſions; and ſince "the deſign of it had been ſo miſrepreſented, and ſo miſunderſtood, "that it was like to meet with great oppoſition in the other Houſe, he "thought it adviſeable to let that matter lie ſtill, till a more proper op-"portunity:" And thereupon the third reading of the ſaid Bill was put off to that day fortnight. The Bill, which was in conſequence dropt for that

the twenty-five hereditary Scottiſh Peers; that they are all to be named before the next ſeſſion: But that if it ſhould happen that any of the preſent ſixteen ſhould not be of the number of thoſe named by his Majeſty, in ſuch caſe the preſent temporary Peers are to remain Lords of Parliament ſo long as this Parliament ſubſiſts, and their hereditary ſucceſſors are during that term to be withheld from what, it is probable, they may be more than a little deſirous of, *viz. a ſeat in the Houſe of Peers.* If this is to be the caſe, I beg leave to aſk theſe two queſtions: The firſt is, Whether any of thoſe Lords, who at preſent are of the Houſe of Peers, will continue to be *very eaſy company*, when they ſhall find themſelves excluded at the end of this Parliament? For that ſome of them are to be excluded ſeems to be indiſputable, if what is mentioned above is a right ſtate of the caſe; for otherwiſe the ſixteen might have been all declared hereditary, and his Majeſty only left

that ſeſſion, was revived in December following, when STEELE again figured away on the ſubject, as may be ſeen in page 381 & ſeqq. Several alſo of the pamphlets relating to that affair, printed during the preceding ſeſſion, were revived, and new ones printed; among theſe were,

1. "An account of the Conduct of the Miniſtry with relation to the "Peerage Bill, in a Letter to a Friend in the Country."

2. "Conſiderations on the Peerage Bill, addreſſed to the Whigs, by a "Member of the Lower Houſe."

3. "The Conſtitution explained; in relation to the Independency of "the Houſe of Lords; with Reaſons for ſtrengthening that Branch of "the Legiſlature moſt liable to Abuſe; and an Anſwer to all the Objec-"tions made to the new-revived Peerage Bill."

to add nine to the Scots, as he is fix to the Engliſh.

The next queſtion I would aſk, is, Whether it is not very natural to think, that thoſe Scottiſh Peers who are to be the hereditary ſucceſſors of the preſent elective ones, will not be very preſſing to be put in poſſeſſion? Should both theſe points be allowed, as I believe they muſt, and likewiſe that the patrons of this project do not wiſh for any thing ſo much as to be in the full enjoyment of this ſalutary ſcheme, then I will venture to affirm, that there is no one expedient to gratify the ardent deſires of thoſe gentlemen, to deliver them from the *diſquietude* of thoſe that *are in*, and from the *importunity* of thoſe that are *to come in*, but the Diſſolution of this Parliament. On the other hand; if this Bill ſhould not be offered to the Houſe of Commons, or, if offered, ſhould not paſs, I leave every one to judge whether the preſent Sixteen Scottiſh Peers will not be very ſolicitous of ſitting out the remainder of the ſeptennial term, to wear off the impreſſions which it is to be feared ſuch an attempt as is talked of may have made upon the minds of their electors.

†††† This day is publiſhed, "The Occaſional Paper, Vol. III. Numb. "X. Of Genius" Printed for Em. Matthews, J. Roberts, &c. where may be had, the ſecond edition of "The Occaſional Paper, Vol. III. "Numb. IX. of Plays and Maſquerades." St. James's Poſt, March 25, 1719.

A LET-

A LETTER TO THE EARL OF OXFORD, CONCERNING THE BILL OF PEERAGE.

By Sir RICHARD STEELE *.

" Rarus enim fermè Senſus communis in illa
" Fortuna." Juv. Sat. viii. 73.

We ſeldom find
Much Senſe with an exalted Fortune join'd.
STEPNEY.

My Lord, *Dec.* 7, 1719.

I AM very glad of an occaſion, wherein I have the good fortune to think the ſame way with your Lordſhip, becauſe I have very long ſuffered a great deal of pain in reflecting upon a certain virulence, with which my zeal has, heretofore, tranſported me to treat your Lordſhip's perſon and character. I do proteſt to you, excepting in the firſt ſmart of my diſgrace, and the expul-

* Firſt publiſhed, in 8vo, by J. Roberts, Dec. 7, 1719.

ſion

ſion out of the Houſe of Commons, I never writ any thing that ought to diſpleaſe you, but with a reluctant heart, and in oppoſition to much good-will and eſteem for your many great and uncommon talents. And I take the liberty to ſay thus publicly to yourſelf what I have often ſaid to others, on the ſubject of my behaviour to you: I never had any other reaſon to leſſen my Lord of OXFORD than that which BRUTUS had to ſtab CÆSAR, the Love of my country. Your Lordſhip will, I hope, believe there cannot be a more voluntary, unconſtrained reparation made to a man, than that I now make to you, in begging your pardon thus publicly for every thing I have ſpoken or written to your diſadvantge, foreign to the argument and cauſe which I was then labouring to ſupport. You will pleaſe to believe I could not have been ſo inſenſible as not to be touched with the generoſity of part of your conduct towards me, or have omitted to acknowledge it accordingly, if I had not thought that your very Virtue was dangerous; and that it was (as the world then ſtood) abſolutely neceſſary to depreciate ſo adventurous a genius ſurrounded with ſo much power as your Lordſhip then had. I tranſgreſſed, my Lord, againſt you when you could make twelve Peers in a day; I aſk your pardon, when you are a private

private Nobleman; and as I told you, when I reſigned the Stamp office *, I wiſhed you all proſperity, conſiſtent with the public good; ſo I now congratulate you upon the pleaſure you muſt needs have, in looking back upon the true fortitude with which you have paſſed through the dangers ariſing from the rage of the people, and the envy of the reſt of the world. If to have rightly judged of mens paſſions and prejudices, vices and virtues, intereſts and inclinations, and to have waited with ſkill and courage for proper ſeaſons and incidents to make uſe of them; for a man's ſafety and honour, can adminiſter pleaſure to a Man of Senſe and Spirit, your Lordſhip has abundant cauſe of ſatisfaction.

In confidence that you will accept of my ſorrow and repentance for the unprovoked liberties I have taken in my former Writings, I make you my Patron in this preſent diſcourſe on the greateſt occaſion that has, perhaps, ever happened in England. Your Lordſhip will ſee I write in haſte, and the neceſſity of preſſing forward to be time enough to be of any uſe will excuſe the failures in ſtyle and expreſſion. I ſhall therefore immediately fall into the matter of the Bill, which I fear may change this free ſtate into the worſt of all tyrannies, that of an

* See STEELE's Letter on that occaſion, dated June 4, 1713, in his "Epiſtolary Correſpondence."

Ariſto-

Ariſtocracy: I ſhall ſupport my reaſons for that terror, by running through the ſeveral parts of it, and making it appear that this is more likely than any other conſequence that can be ſuppoſed will attend ſuch a law as this would be. The whole tenor of it is very unfortunately put together, if any thing but an addition of Power to the Peers is intended by it. I believe, my Lord, all mankind will allow that the only plauſible reaſon for this law is what your Lordſhip remembers as well as I; but the preamble aſſigns no ſuch reaſon, but ſays, that ſixteen Peers of Scotland, by reaſon of many new creations ſince the Union, are not a ſufficient and proportionable Repreſentative of that Nobility, and therefore they ſhall hereafter not be repreſented at all, but a thing "much more ſuitable to the "Peerage of Scotland" ought to be done for them, to wit, "that twenty-five of them ſhould, "at all times hereafter, have hereditary ſeats in "Parliament." I always imagined no one was judge of what was ſuitable to a man but himſelf; and I ſee no manner of comfort that it can poſſibly be to one who has any thing taken from him, that the poſſeſſion of it is more ſuitably placed. How is it ſuitable to the Peerage of Scotland, that, inſtead of having a Repreſentative of ſixteen ſitting, by their election, they are hereafter to be favoured with having five and

twenty

twenty there inſtead of them, and not one there in their behalf? It is, my Lord, very much below Noblemen to uſe cunning and artifice; and it muſt be allowed that the Peers of Scotland cannot complain of any thing like being tricked, but their potential ſeats in Parliament are barred and taken from them, not by colluſion and double dealing, but the moſt unreſerved and candid uſurpation imaginable. But though this is done with ſo much eaſe, and no reaſon given but that they who do it are pleaſed to ſay "it is moſt ſuitable," it is to be preſumed thoſe whoſe conſent is neceſſary for the diveſting innocent men of their liberty and honour, will deſire ſome better account of the matter before they deprive their fellow-ſubjects. I cannot but from a natural deteſtation of injuſtice ſay, that it is the higheſt wrong done to the *indulgence* mentioned a little after in the preamble, to expect it will be granted in favour of any men, in wrong of any other; and I will not doubt but the faithful Commons will alarm that benignity from being employed to the deſtruction of itſelf, or oppreſſion of others. I hope the beſt man and beſt Prince in the world will be gracious, ſo as to have it *always in his power to be gracious.* I am ſure he will never give his people any reaſon to complain but of his too

great goodneſs. Happy the Sovereign, and happy the people, when exceſſive Grace is all that is to be feared from him. Dr. BURNET compliments King WILLIAM, "Non te fortem dici-"mus, ſed querimur." This nation may ſay at this time the ſame thing to her Monarch, "We do not only acknowledge, but bewail that "he is ſo gracious."

But to come cloſe to the point. The Peers of Scotland have an indefeaſible right by the act of Union to be elected, and to ſerve in Parliament as Peers of Great Britain, in the manner therein ſtipulated; and it would be but more cruel, not more unjuſt, to take from them their lives and fortunes, as this honour and privilege which their anceſtors purchaſed by the frequent hazard of theirs. The terms of this Union are plain and abſolute; nor can there be any privilege, liberty, or property, ſecured by it to the meaneſt ſubject of either nation, violated or altered againſt his will, and no ſatisfactory reparation done him, without infringemen of the whole act, and leaving the perſons ſo injured, at large as innocent outlaws, at liberty to avenge by force what was done by force; for protection and obedience are reciprocal, and the withdrawing the one diſcharges the other. What then is the condition of theſe unhappy men, who are to be diveſted of their rights

rights and privileges of ſubjects, and yet no doubt to be deemed traitors, ſhould they fly to any foreign power, or invader of that nation, which has in the deareſt and greateſt conſiderations (thoſe of honour and diſtinction) made them foreigners? But I will argue this point from the nature of power in general.

Power, as it is to be exerted by men over men, muſt be directed according to nature, juſtice, and reaſon. The firſt obvious ſtep from confuſion and anarchy towards ſuch a power, is ſubmiſſion to the will of one great good man; but ſuch is the weakneſs and inſufficiency of the greateſt and beſt for ſuch a charge, that every abatement, limitation, and diviſion, of that Power which was at firſt deſpotic, are ſo many improvements of government. The Legiſlature of theſe kingdoms, in ſpite of many convulſions, has reſted in three ſtates; but neither this, or any other form, can preſerve itſelf, but according to the rules of juſtice and honour: Power ſeparated from them is brute-force, and becomes violence, which is inconſiſtent with reaſon and nature, according to which it is as juſt a maxim to ſay, The Legiſlature can do no wrong, as to ſay, The King can do no wrong; for to do wrong is not to do as becometh a Legiſlature, or becometh a King, and therefore not in the power of either.

If we ſhould ſuppoſe the State to commit injuſtice, it would in that Act be as deſtructive of itſelf, as of the perſons violated; for it would ceaſe to be a congrégation of men living under laws, and begin to be a collection of robbers and pirates ſupporting themſelves by force and ſtrength; it is therefore certain that it is impoſſible, and againſt the very nature of the thing, the Legiſlature ſhould do injuſtice.

The terms of the Union cannot be revoked without diſuniting the kingdoms; for after that is done, they are no longer held together by law, but by force; and the Power which keeps us together muſt be arbitrary, and not legal; or if legal, not righteous; for a law not ſupported by juſtice is in itſelf null and void; nor are the makers of it Legiſlators, but Oppreſſors.

Thus then it appears, without any poſſible contradiction, that the Parliament of Great Britain cannot exclude the Peers of Scotland from the benefit of the twenty-third article in the act for the Union, without becoming an arbitrary power, acting with an indifference to good and evil, on the foundation of Might only.

Now, as men are attempting what is not in their power to do according to honeſty, and therefore not in their power to do at all, one would think this were enough to ſay againſt it; but the world is ſo corrupt, that an argument

that

that a thing is inconvenient is more forcible than reaſons to prove a thing unjuſt.

I ſhall go on then to urge that we are ſafer under the Prerogative in the King, than we can be under an Ariſtocracy.

The Prerogative is a Power in the Sovereign, not expreſſed or deſcribed by the laws, but to be exerted in the preſervation of them, by the rule of the general good. And if you could prove that the buſineſs of the twelve Gentlemen was done purely to ſave the nation, and that it was done for the good of the whole, the Stateſman who adviſed it would deſerve the thanks of all mankind, for expoſing himſelf to the miſinterpretation and reſentment of future Parliaments for the good of his fellow-ſubjects. I ſay, Sir, the fault is not in the Power, but the miſapplication of it: and in judging of this matter we are to carry our thoughts beyond the age we live in, and abſtract ourſelves from the little quarrels and animoſities of our time, and conſider, if this Power may not be proper to be lodged in the Chief Magiſtrate of this Kingdom a hundred years hence. The Magiſtracy of the King of England will be diſabled if this Power is taken away; and we are to expect protection, as well as fear oppreſſion from it. And, my Lord, had I time, I am confident I could cite you as many inſtances of preſervation from the

prerogative in good Princes, as of violation from arbitrary ones. I believe it will puzzle all the Civilians in the world to account for the behaviour of the Sixteen Lords on this occaſion. For though a Deputy, or Repreſentative, has indeed full right to act for his Principal or Conſtituent in as ample and effectual manner as if it were ſuch his Principal himſelf who did all which he the Repreſentative acts; at the ſame time, it is from reaſon and equity underſtood, that theſe acts ſhould be for his Conſtituent's good and intereſt, and never can be conſtrued to extend to the taking all the Conſtituent's property, and converting his authority to act for him, into a power to act againſt him; much leſs for veſting in himſelf, the *Repreſentative*, the right entruſted by the Principal.

I will not pretend to doubt but that thoſe noble Perſonages have under the hands and ſeals of all and every of their Electors, the Peers of Scotland, full power and authority for this alteration; without which authority, this proceeding cannot be reconciled to common honeſty. But I will aver, that if the thirty odd, who are to be enobled by this Bill, are to be made up by preſent Members of the Houſe of Commons, ſuch Members are to climb to honour through infamy. Nor can I imagine what comfort reaſonable creatures can take in an advancement ſo

purchaſed,

purchaſed, but that of hiding the ſur-names of their families, which they ſhall have made deteſtable, under the covering of titles.

This is not, my Lord, talking paſſionately, but plainly and honeſtly; and I do not do ſuch men, if there are ſuch, injury; but they do me and every Commoner of England injury, by treacherouſly attempting to facilitate the paſſage of this dreadful Bill into a law, that may enſlave their preſent equals, and contriving to partake of the tyranny over them obtained by ſuch their perfidiouſneſs.

My Lord, what I promiſed to maintain was, that the Bill is made for an Ariſtocracy, and indeed it ſeems to me calculated for nothing elſe; nay, it has not ſo much as the appearance of any thing elſe; for though a man of honour, that is to ſay, a man of conſcious integrity, knows that he is a Peer for the ſake of his fellow-ſubjects, and that this right is veſted in him and his family for the ſake of ſociety, not for himſelf and ſucceſſors only; yet is there no part of ſociety conſidered in this Bill, but merely the Peers and Nobles. Your Lordſhip, who has declared againſt it, has obſerved this with proper care of the Prerogative; give me leave to declare the ſame, not only in behalf of the Prerogative, but alſo that of the People. The Lords exerciſe a power in the laſt reſource of juſtice; and an

appeal, they ſay, lies to them from the Courts of Weſtminſter-hall for determining all the property of Great-Britain; and yet they are willing to have a law which muſt neceſſarily diſable them from being a Court of Juſtice, that is, a capable Court of Juſtice, for the future. The Bill even provides for their inſufficiency as to this purpoſe; and there is a clauſe, which, inſtead of looking out for great and knowing men, is very careful to leave Power in the King to give titles, in caſe of extinctions, to minors. But ſuch at the ſame time is the partiality of the Bill, that females are to be excluded from their future right, as if a Lady of good ſenſe were not as capable of bringing into the world a man of ſenſe, as a boy under age is of becoming a man of juſtice and honour from the mere recommendation of his fortune; for it is not to be doubted but that would be his beſt pretenſion: but Lords have thought it more eligible to have in view the providing rich huſbands for their daughters from among the Commons, than leaving it to their female heirs to make Lords of the deſcendants of meritorious Commoners.

Thus, my Lord, you ſee the Ariſtocracy is already ſet out by this Bill; for all the proviſions and limitations of it regard only the titles and honours of the Peers, and a prodigious care is taken that no one ſhould ſuffer from poſſible

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contingencies and distant incidents among themselves, but no regard had to the known immediate present rights of those who do not fit in their House, but have title of election into it; there is no difficulty of destroying those whom they know to have titles, but they are prodigious tender of hurting who may have titles of which they do not know. And we Commoners are supposed not to have eyesight enough to see through this noble subtlety. The Lords will be Judges, and give and admit to whom they please incidental claims; but extinctions are to be supplied only by the King, and he might possibly give them to persons they should not like.

The worthiest circumstance in the Bill, is the favour and notice taken of the title in the Dutchess of *Bucclugh*; and if good sense, virtue, and all manner of merit, are reasons for honouring any persons in their descendants, the heirs of that illustrious Lady have indisputable pretensions; and I hope the King will never want the assistance of his Legislature for conferring it upon them, without the assistance of such a Bill as this is.

To conclude, my Lord. The restraint of the Peers to a certain number will render the House useless, because it is well known that the great business is always carried on by men created first in their own persons; and if all such were now

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to be excluded, I need not ſay what would be the ability of the Houſe.

When they are confined to a number, the moſt powerful of them will have the reſt under their direction, and all the property diſputed before them will be beſtowed not by judgement, but by vote and humour, or worſe. Judges ſo made by the blind order of birth will be capable of no other way of decision. It is ſaid that power attends property; it is as true that power will command property; and I am at liberty to ſay, that, according to the degeneracy of human nature, the Lords may as well grow corrupt as other men; and if they ſhould do ſo, how will this be amended but by the conſent of thoſe who ſhall become ſo corrupt? What ſhall we then ſay? ſhall we expoſe ourſelves to probable evils, with the proſpect of impoſſible remedies againſt them?

I will not inſinuate any thing from the ſuſpicions or dangers that may very well be expected will ariſe from the impatience of thoſe new Nobles, who are not to be ſeated in the Houſe till another Seſſion of Parliament; but am at liberty to ſuppoſe that ſeſſion would not be very far off after this Bill ſhould become a Law. It is hardly to be read ſeriouſly, when the Bill in a grave ſtyle and ſober contradiction has theſe words, "The twenty-five Peers on the part of

"the Peerage of Scotland," as if they who were made inſtead of the Peers of Scotland, could without a banter be called Peers on the part of the Peerage of Scotland. The true deſcription of them is, Peers made when the Peers of Scotland were no more to be Peers; for the titles reſting in their families, without hopes of ſucceſſion in the Peerage and Legiſlature, is only a bar againſt any participation of power and intereſt in their country. It is putting them into the condition of Papiſts. Convict, as to what ought to be moſt dear to them, their Honour and Reputation.

It is held by true Politicians a moſt dangerous thing to give the meaneſt of the people juſt cauſe of provocation, much more to enrage men of ſpirit and diſtinction, and that with downright injuries.

We may flatter ourſelves that Property is always the ſource of Power; but Earl Mar *, who led and commanded men of much greater property than himſelf, is an inſtance that property, like all other poſſeſſions, has its effects according to the talents and abilities of the owner: and as it is allowed that learning and courage are very common qualities in that nation, I ſhould think it not very adviſeable to provoke the greateſt, and

* See p. 62.

for

for aught we can tell, the beſt men amongſt them.

Thus we are barred from making this law by prudential rules, as well as from the inviolable rule of juſtice and common right with relation to the Scotch Peers; but if we conſider the matter with regard to the King's Prerogative, this Law would diminiſh it to an irreparable degree; and it is a ſtrange time to take away power, when it is in the poſſeſſion of a Prince who uſes it with ſo much moderation, that he is willing to reſign it. But we are to conſider the Prerogative as part of the eſtate of the Crown, and not conſent to the taking it out of the Crown till we ſee juſt occaſion for it.

His Majeſty's indulgence makes it ſafe in his royal breaſt; and we know of nothing any other of the family has done to alter it for fear of him. If others have juſt apprehenſions, from whenceſoever they ariſe, they ſhall ſpeak them, and prove them juſt, before they have any honeſt man's vote for altering the eſtate in the Crown. The Prerogative can do no hurt when Miniſters do their duty; but a ſettled number of Peers may abuſe their power, when no man is anſwerable for them, or can call them to an account for their encroachments.

I know it is ſaid, and that very truly, the manner of their power will be the ſame as now;

but

but then the application of it may be altered when they are an unchangeable body. Schemes of grandeur and oppreſſion can be formed to invade the property, as well as liberty, of their fellow-ſubjects; which would, according to the preſent eſtabliſhment, be vain to undertake, when they are ſubject to alteration before their projects could be ripened into practice and uſurpation.

As for any ſudden and ſurprizing way of creation, that lies before the Legiſlature for cenſure, and the great diminution which all creations bring upon the King's authority is a ſufficient defence againſt the abuſive employment of that authority this way: for when the King makes Peers, he makes perpetual opponents of his will and power, if they ſhall think fit; which one conſideration cannot but render frequent creations terrible to the Crown.

This conſtitution has ſubſiſted in ſpight of convulſions and factions, without reſtraining or expreſſing the extent of the Legiſlative Powers; nor is it poſſible for any man, or aſſembly of men, to circumſcribe their diſtinct authorities: no, they are to be left eternally at large; and the ſafety of each part, and the good of the whole, are to be the rules of their conduct. And as it is impoſſible to foreſee all the circumſtances which muſt ariſe before them, there is no other

ſafe

ſafe way, but leaving them at large, as vigilant checks upon each other, equally unconfined, but by reaſon and juſtice.

Hence it is, my Lord, that I have always aſſerted, that if there was any outrage committed in the caſe of the twelve gentlemen, the Peers ſhould have then withſtood the receiving of them, or done what they thought fit at another ſeaſon for their ſatisfacton; and not when it is too late, inſtead of aſſerting their liberties, meditate their future ſecurity in unreaſonable conceſſions from the Crown, and diſcouragements upon the merit of the Commons.

I have, my Lord, lain under unjuſt imputations of turning the perſons and characters of men in preſent power into ridicule *; but as I abhor to do any thing but what I think I may defend, I neither have nor will preſume to take ſuch a licence, but leave it to gentlemen's own modeſty and reflection, to conſider whether they can reaſonably think the conſummation of the Engliſh glory and merit is too cloſe and reſt in their perſons.

After the Bill has ſufficiently provided for the Ariſtocracy over theſe dominions, it goes into a

* It was during the preſent oppoſition to the Court, that STEELE's licence for acting Plays was revoked, and his patent rendered ineffectual, at the inſtance of the Duke of Newcaſtle, then Lord Chamberlain. See the THEATRE, N° VIII. *& paſſim.*

kind

kind of œconomy and order among themſelves, which relates to their Nobility, and not to their Peerage. We plain men and Commoners will not diſpute about any thing which we know to be merely trifling and ornamental; and if they will be ſatisfied with a power in them as Peers, they ſhall be Dukes, Marqueſſes, Earls, or what other words they pleaſe, without our envy or oppoſition. But when we come ſeriouſly to conſider what we are going to do, we muſt take the liberty to be very zealous, as the laſt time that it may be in our power to make a ſtand for ourſelves and our poſterity; and Noblemen cannot blame Commoners, who are as ſhy in beſtowing, as they are importunate in urging the grant of ſuch a Power in themſelves; which can be of no uſe or advantage but to themſelves. At the ſame time one cannot reſiſt obſerving to them, that, with reſpect to the prerogative, the Peerage of Scotland, and the rights of the whole body of the people of Great Britain, they cannot be more exorbitant in the uſe of this Bill, ſhould it become a law, than in the circumſtances under which they ſend it to us for our concurrence; and it is not thirſt of power, but moderation in the demands made of it, can recommend men to further truſt; and we cannot apprehend but that which would be founded on Uſurpation would be exerted in Tyranny. But,

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my Lord, it is to be hoped this unreaſonable Bill will be entirely rejected, when no one can pretend to amend what is in its very nature incorrigible; for it would be in vain to attempt a ſuperſtructure, which ought to be approved, upon a foundation which deſerves nothing but indignation and contempt. It is a melancholy conſideration, that, under the preſſure of debts, the neceſſities of a war, the perplexities of trade, and the calamities of the poor, the Legiſlature ſhould thus be taken up and employed in ſchemes for the advancement of the power, pride, and luxury of the rich and noble. I ſpeak not this, my Lord, to ſpread diſcontents or ſow diviſions, but to compoſe and heal them: I ſpeak it in charity to all men, and addreſs it to one, towards whom of all others my behaviour has been moſt exceptionable. Thus far, my Lord, have I treated this affair in a moſt ſolemn manner, by reaſon of the awful authority from whence it comes; but we muſt not, on ſuch great occaſions, be oppreſſed by outward things, but look to the bottom of the matter before us, diveſted of every thing that ſhould divert us from ſeeing the true reaſon of what paſſes, and the pretenſions to what is aſked. If this Bill is required for preventing the creation of occaſional Peers, why at the ſame time are five and twenty Scotch, and eight Engliſh, to be now made? Is

not

not this the ſame thing as to ſay, if you will let us make ſo many this one time, under the ſanction of a law, we will make no more, for we ſhall have no occaſion for any more —

"Accuſat Catilina Cethegum *."

It appears indeed very unlikely any more ſhould be wanted; if all that is wanted is to prevent the ſudden and occaſional increaſe of Peers, a more eaſy method for that purpoſe is obvious, to wit, a prohibition to ſit and vote in Parliament, till after a convenient diſtance of time after their creation. I ſpeak not this as I approve even ſuch a remedy; for every power of Parliament (as is already obſerved) has from the reaſon of the thing, and their diſtinct ſafety, proper limitations, as well as privileges; but I name that expedient only to ſhew that more is aſked than is wanted; and when more is aſked than is wanted, it cannot be thought unfair to ſuſpect much more is to be done with the ſuperfluous power than is acknowledged. The former conduct of the Houſe of Peers, of admitting or oppoſing creations of the Crown, ſhews that they well know they have a power of ſo doing, when the reaſon of the thing gives them authority for it, much more when reaſon dictates that their very exiſtence, as a Houſe of Parliament, is ſtruck at, as in the caſe of pouring in new members in the midſt of their debates.

* Juvenal, Sat. ii. 27.

The latter end of the Bill ſeems to have ſome compaſſion towards the prerogative, and enacts ſomething Gracious towards the Deſcendants of the Sovereign before the commencement of the Ariſtocracy: "Provided always nevertheleſs, "That nothing in this act contained ſhall be "taken or conſtrued to lay any reſtraint upon "the King's Majeſty, his Heirs or Succeſ- "ſors, for advancing or promoting any Peer, "having vote and ſeat in Parliament, to any "higher rank or degree of Dignity or Nobility; "nor from creating or making any of the Prin- "ces of the Blood Peers of Great Britain, or "Lords of Parliament; and ſuch Princes of the "Blood, ſo created, ſhall not be eſteemed to be "any part of the number, to which the Peers "of Great Britain are by this act reſtrained."

You ſee, my Lord, the grace and favour which (as ſoon as all their own poſterity, and accidents that could befall them, are provided for) is moſt bounteouſly beſtowed upon the children of the Royal Family. As this goodneſs is conferred on thoſe of it who are not yet entitled to that Honour, it is to be preſumed, in ſpight of all groundleſs inſinuations that are ſpread abroad, nothing veſted in others of them will be aſſaulted; but that whatever becomes of this bill, their preſent eſtates, their then remaining eſtates will be ſtill inviolable. I am confident

confident none will deſerve any other; and as all human nature is ſubject to infirmities, thoſe are moſt excuſable which grow upon the dignity of our nature. I will dwell no more upon this tender place, but ſay with the Tragedian:

"Pyrrhus is violent, but he's ſincere."

To conclude, my Lord, I will not doubt but mens ſpirits will be ſufficiently raiſed, in a cauſe which ſo nearly concerns the ſubject, from the higheſt to the loweſt; and that ſince the Houſe has given this affair ſuch proper uſage, as to call a full Aſſembly to be preſent at the debate, it will infallibly end according to juſtice; for I can never think the liberty of England in danger at ſuch a meeting. Rancors, animoſities, and private hates, vaniſh in common danger; and I doubt not but the zeal that demanded a hearing before this full aſſembly, will be doubled at it. I cannot leave off till I have done juſtice to a noble and generous Youth, who pleaded for the more diſtant day; and wiſh I could repreſent him in the amiable figure which he bears in my imagination to all the reſt of his fellow ſubjects. The Roman, the Engliſh Virtue is not loſt, while a young Nobleman is contending againſt a power as a Patriot, which he has ſo near a pretence to as a Son. Filial piety to his country and to his family had no ſtruggle, but worked together to break through a modeſty which long withheld

him from taking a leading part in this glorious contention. Many, who are nearer to him in intereſt and fortune, will, I hope, on the approaching occaſion, emulate his virtue. None who have the honour to ſit in the Legiſlature ſhould be indifferent in it, but exert themſelves acording to the intereſt they have in theſe dominions, the only remaining ſeats of Liberty. As for me, a poor PLEBEIAN, who, from the love of juſtice and virtue, have, at the entrance into old age, but juſt lifted my head out of obſcurity into noiſe, clamour, and envy, be it enough to applaud and celebrate their noble qualities; be it enough for me to be permitted and forgiven.

I am, my Lord, your Lordſhip's moſt
obedient, and moſt humble ſervant,
R. STEELE.

*** "This Day is publiſhed, in a ſmall Volume, Price 1s. The Sixth "Impreſſion of the Four PLEBEIANS, or Conſiderations upon the Re- "ports about the Peerage, and particularly as to the Scots Nobility. By "a Member of the Houſe of Commons. With Remarks on the PA- "TRICIANS, the OLD WHIGS, and other Pamphlets that were writ "for the propoſed Bill, during the laſt Seſſion of Parliament. Sold by "S. Pepping and A. Dodd; where may alſo be had any of the ſingle "Numbers, and where Letters directed for the PLEBEIAN are taken in."
Flying Poſt, Nov. 26, 1729.

"On Saturday next will be publiſhed, An exact Account of the Ex- "pedition to, and taking of Vigo. By an impartial Hand. Sold by "J. Roberts and A. Dodd. Where may be had, the PATRICIAN, N° "I. II. III. IV. in anſwer to the PLEBEIAN."
Whitehall Evening, Nov. 26, 1729.

"The Peerage Bill conſidered, as it relates to the Scots, pr. 2d."
Ib. Dec. 2, 1729.

SPEECHES

SPEECHES IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, ON THE PEERAGE BILL *.

A N engroſſed Bill from the Lords, entituled, *An Act for the ſettling the Peerage of Great Britain*, was read a ſecond time; and a motion being made by the Lord William Powlet, for committing the Bill, which was ſeconded by Sir Charles Hotham, the ſame occaſioned a warm and long debate, which laſted from one of the clock in the afternoon till near nine at night. The principal perſons, who ſpoke for and againſt the motion, were as follows:

For committing the Bill.	*Againſt the Committing.*
1 Lord *William Powlet*,	1 Sir *Richard Steele*,
2 Sir *Charles Hotham*,	2 Mr. *Pitts*,
3 Col. *Morton*,	3 Sir *Wilfred Lawſon*,
4 Mr. *Hambden*,	4 Mr. *Horatio Walpole*,
5 Mr. Secretary *Craggs*,	5 *William Wykes*, Eſq.
6 Mr. *Plummer*,	6 Sir *John Packington*,
7 Mr. *Attorney-General*,	7 Mr. *Methuen*,
8 M. *Aiſlabie*,	8 Mr. *Herne*,
9 Sergeant *Pengelly*.	9 Mr. *Tuffnell*,
10 Mr. *Hungerford*.	10 Mr. *Robert Walpole*,
	11 *John Smith*, Eſq.

It is impoſſible to relate all that paſſed in that memorable debate, the rather, becauſe, except-

* From the Political State, Dec. 1719, p. 553.

ing a great many Lords, very few ſtrangers, were admitted into the Houſe. However, to gratify the curioſity of our conſtant readers, we ſhall take notice of ſome material paſſages, which were communicated to us by perſons of honour, and undoubted credit. Sir RICHARD STEELE, who ſpoke firſt on the oppoſite ſide, made uſe of ſome of the arguments againſt the Bill, which he had pubiſhed that very morning in his Letter to the Earl of Oxford; concluding, *That he was againſt committing the Bill, becauſe he thought it would be committing of ſin.* Mr. PITTS ſpoke with a great deal of warmth and vehemence againſt the projectors of this Bill, whom he taxed with mean obſequiouſneſs to foreigners, and with deſigns againſt the liberties of their countrymen. Sir Wilfred Lawſon and Mr. Horatio Walpole, who ſpoke on the ſame ſide, were anſwered by Colonel Morton. On the other hand, Sir John Packington ſpoke with a great deal of eloquence and weight againſt the Bill, ſaying, among other things, "that they had "all the reaſon in the world to acknowledge the "good intentions his Majeſty had been pleaſed "to expreſs in his ſpeech, for the good of his "ſubjects and the liberty of our conſtitution; "but that, in his opinion, his Majeſty was not "rightly informed of the manner of making his "ſubjects feel the effects of thoſe gracious in-

"tentions;

" tentions; and that, in particular, the Bill now
" before them was a very improper return to
" all the demonſtrations of duty, zeal, and af-
" fection, which his faithful Commons had given
" ſince his Majeſty's happy acceſſion to the
" throne: That when the King and his Miniſters
" thought fit to enter into a ſtrict alliance with
" France, and thereby give that ancient and al-
" moſt irreconcileable enemy of England an op-
" portunity to retrieve the extreme low and deſ-
" perate condition of their affairs, the Commons
" had not oppoſed thoſe meaſures: That when
" his Majeſty judged it neceſſary, either for the
" good of his ſubjects, or to ſecure ſome acqui-
" ſitions in Germany, to declare war againſt Swe-
" den, and to ſend ſtrong ſquadrons into the Bal-
" tick, his faithful Commons had readily provi-
" ded for thoſe great expences: That when after-
" wards it was thought proper to deprive his
" Majeſty's ſubjects of the beneficial trade to
" Spain, by declaring war againſt that Crown,
" and ſending a fleet into the Mediterranean, to
" ſerve as ferry-boats for the Emperor's troops,
" the good-natured Commons had approved
" thoſe wiſe counſels: But that, after all theſe
" and ſeveral other inſtances of obſequiouſneſs
" and complaiſance which the Commons had
" ſhewn for the Miniſters, it was matter of
" wonder, they ſhould at laſt be no better re-

" warded than by a Bill, which was vifibly cal-
" culated to exclude them from titles of ho-
" nour, and to raiſe the dignity and power of
" the Peers: That this ſeemed to have been
" the principal deſign of the Miniſtry, ſince the
" beginning of this reign, and in particular, to
" give one family the abſolute diſpoſal of all
" honours and favours: That, for his own part,
" he never deſired to be a Lord, but that he had
" a ſon who might one day have that ambition;
" and he hoped to leave him a better claim to
" it, than a certain great man had when he
" was made a Peer: That it was, indeed, an
" extraordinary and unexampled condeſcenſion
" in his Majeſty, to part with ſo valuable a
" branch of his royal Prerogative, as is the
" beſtowing marks of honour and diſtinction on
" ſuch as have deſerved them by their eminent
" virtues and ſervices to their King and Country.
" However, conſidering what equivalent was
" given by this Bill to his Majeſty, nobody
" would wonder at this conceſſion, if it reached
" no farther than his Majeſty. But he hoped
" this Houſe would never concur in depriving
" of ſo bright a jewel of the Crown, the Prince,
" who in his proper turn was to wear it; and
" who was ſo worthy of it by all the royal vir-
" tues that ſhone in his perſon; and which, du-
" ring his Regency, had gained him the hearts

" and

" and affections of all true Engliſhmen; that " ſome perſons had, through their indiſcre- " tion, occaſioned an unhappy difference; and " he was apprehenſive that if this Bill, ſo " prejudicial to the rights of the preſumptive " Heir, ſhould paſs into a law, it might render " that diviſion irreconcileable; and therefore he " was againſt the committing it." Mr. Hampden anſwered one of the moſt material objections againſt the Bill; *viz.* " That it would give the " Peerage an Ariſtocratical authority;" endeavouring to ſhew, on the contrary, *That the limiting the number of the Peers would rather diminiſh than increaſe their power and intereſt, ſince theſe were mainly owing to the conſtant addition of riches which the Peerage receives by the enobling of wealthy Commoners.* Mr. Secretary Craggs ſpoke on the ſame ſide; and though he uſhered in his diſcourſe with a modeſt apprehenſion, " that what " he was going to offer would have but little " weight;" yet, with all the art of oratory, he ſaid all that the ſubject could bear, and came off with general applauſe. He urged, among other reaſons, " That his Majeſty, ſince his acceſſion " to the Throne, had had no other view, than " to procure the good and happineſs of his ſub- " jects, and to ſecure their rights and liberties. " That having, in his royal wiſdom, conſidered " the abuſe that was made in the laſt reign of

" that branch of the Prerogative relating to the " creating of Peers, which abuſe had brought " the liberties of Great Britain, and of all " Europe, into imminent danger, his Majeſty, " through a condeſcenſion worthy of a Prince " truly magnanimous, had graciouſly been " pleaſed to conſent, that ſuch bounds be ſet to " that part of the Prerogative as may prevent " any exorbitant and dangerous exerciſe of it " for the time to come: That it was only in the " reigns of good Princes, that Legiſlators had " opportunities to remedy and amend the defects " to which all human inſtitutions are ſubject; " and that, if the preſent occaſion of rectifying " that apparent flaw in our conſtitution was " loſt, it might, perhaps, never be retrieved." Mr. Methuen, formerly Secretary of State, anſwered Mr. Craggs; and with great ſtrength and ſolidity of argument ſhewed the danger of making alterations in the fundamental Laws and ancient Conſtitution; urging the compariſon of a building, in which the removing of one ſingle ſtone from the foundation may endanger the whole edifice. Mr. Herne and ſome others ſpoke on the ſame ſide. After which, Mr. Attorney General made a long and learned ſpeech; and though he owned, " that " he did not like this Bill as it was ſent down " to them; yet he did not doubt but it might

" be

" be made a good one, provided the Lords would " give the Commons an equivalent, and ſhare " with them ſeveral privileges and advantages " which their Lordſhips enjoy. Therefore he " inſiſted on the committing of the Bill, that " they might make proper amendments to it; " and as to the objection, that it was dangerous " to make any innovations in the Conſtitution, " he brought in ſeveral inſtances, particularly " the Act for limiting the Succeſſion, and the " Act of Union, which indeed had altered, but " on the other hand had rather improved and " ſtrengthened, than prejudiced the original " Conſtitution." Mr. Robert Walpole ſpoke next on the other ſide; and, with his uſual eloquence, and great ſtrength of reaſoning, endeavoured to confute all that had been offered in favour of the Bill. Among other remarkable particulars, he took notice, " That among the " Romans, the wiſeſt people on earth, the " Temple of Fame was placed behind the " Temple of Virtue, to denote that there was no " coming to the former, without going through " the other; but that, if this Bill paſſed into " a law, one of the moſt powerful incentives to " Virtue would be taken away, ſince there would " be no coming to Honour but through the " winding ſheet of an old decrepit Lord, and " the grave of an extinct Noble Family: That

" it

" it was matter of juſt ſurprize, that a Bill of
" this nature ſhould either have been projected,
" or at leaſt promoted, by a gentleman who not
" long ago ſat amongſt them; and who, having
" got into the Houſe of Peers, would now ſhut up
" the door after him: That this Bill would not
" only be a diſcouragement to Virtue and Merit,
" but alſo endanger our excellent Conſtitution;
" for as there was a due balance between the
" three branches of the Legiſlature, if any more
" weight were thrown into any one of thoſe
" branches, it would deſtroy that balance, and
" conſequently ſubvert the whole Conſtitution:
" That the Peers were already poſſeſſed of many
" valuable privileges; and to give them more
" power and authority by limiting their number,
" would in time bring back the Commons into
" the ſtate of the ſervile dependency they were
" in, when they wore the badges of the Lords:
" That he could not but wonder that the Lords
" would ſend ſuch a Bill to the Commons;
" for how could they expect that the Commons
" would give their concurrence to ſo injurious
" a Law, by which they and their poſterities are
" to be excluded from the Peerage? And how
" would the Lords receive a Bill by which it
" ſhould be enacted, That a Baron ſhould not be
" made a Viſcount, nor a Viſcount be made an
" Earl, and ſo on? That, beſides all this, that
" part

"part of the Bill which related to the Peerage "of Scotland, would be a manifeſt violation "of the Act of Union on the part of Eng- "land, and a diſhonourable breach of truſt in "thoſe who repreſented the Scotch Nobility: "That ſuch an infringement of the Union "would endanger the entire diſſolution of it, "by diſguſting ſo great a number of the Scotch "Peers as ſhould be excluded from ſitting in "the Britiſh Parliament. For as it was well "known that the Revolution ſettlement ſtood "upon the principle of a mutual compact, if "we ſhould break firſt the Articles of Union, "it would be natural for the Scots to think "themſelves thereby freed from all allegiance. "And as for what had been ſuggeſted, that the "election of the Sixteen Scotch Peers was "no leſs expenſive to the Crown than inju- "rious to the Peerage of Scotland, it might be "anſwered, that the making twenty-five here- "ditary ſitting Scotch Peers would ſtill increaſe "the diſcontents of the electing Peers, who "thereby would be cut off of a valuable con- "ſideration for not being choſen." Mr. Aiſlabie, Chancellor of the Exchequer, who ſpoke next, anſwered a material objection that had been raiſed againſt the Bill, *viz.* "That it was "dangerous to make any innovations in the Con- "ſtitution;" and made it appear that "ſeveral "alter-

" alterations had been made in the original Con-
" ſtitution by *Magna Charta*, the *Habeas Corpus*
" *Act*, and ſeveral other laws, made for the be-
" nefit of the ſubject;" and, upon the whole, was for committing the Bill. He was backed by Mr. Serjeant Pengelly; but they were oppoſed by Mr. Smith, who, among other arguments, urged, " That the foundation of this Bill being " wrong and faulty, there was no room for " amendments, and therefore he was againſt com-" mitting it." Mr. Hungerford, who brought up the rear, was of a contrary opinion.

But about a quarter paſt eight in the evening, the queſtion being put upon the Lord William Powlet's motion, the ſame was carried in the negative, by a majority of 269 voices againſt 177; ſo that, including the two tellers on each ſide, there were 450 Members in the Houſe. After this, the prevailing party moved, and it was reſolved by about the ſame majority, *That the Bill be rejected.*

*** " This day is publiſhed, the ſecond edition of the MODERATOR, " wherein the Arguments for and againſt the Peerage Bill are fairly ſtated. " With ſome Reflections upon the whole. *Medio tutiſſimus.* Printed for " J. Roberts, Price 6d." Poſt-boy, Nov. 28, 1719.

" On Monday next will be publiſhed, An Account of the Conduct of " the Miniſters with relation to the Peerage Bill. In a Letter to a Friend " in the Country. *Serò ſapiunt Phryges.* Printed for J. Roberts, price 3d." Poſt-boy, Nov. 28, 1719.

" On Tueſday next will be publiſhed, An Enquiry into the Manner of " creating Peers. *Antiquam exquirite Matrem.* Virg. Printed for J. Roberts, " price 1s." Ibid.

THE SPINSTER,

IN DEFENCE OF

THE WOOLLEN MANUFACTURES.

N° 1. DECEMBER 19, 1719 *.

Cætera, ni Catia eſt, demiſſâ veſte tegentis.

HOR. 1 Sat. ii. 95.

'For all the reſt is cover'd with the gown.' CREECH.

THIS Diſcourſe is written in behalf of the Needy and Diſtreſſed, in oppoſition to the Wealthy and Powerful; who, I fear, may conſpire for their own ends, to leave the afflictions and complaints of their miſerable fellow-ſubjects and fellow-creatures neglected and unrelieved. I ſhall continue it from time to time, during the diſpute between the dealers concerned in the Woollen and Callico manufactures.

But though my preſent opinion is clearly on the ſide of the cloathing made for our own Wool, I ſhall not be deaf to Callico.

And if any gentlewoman, dating herſelf at the preſent writing and time of the year in England, and in Callico, ſhall write her thoughts to REBECCA WOOLLPACK, ſpinſter, at Mr. Roberts's, in Warwick-lane, poſt-paid (for the

* This Paper was publiſhed in 8vo. by J. Roberts, Price 3d. and was intended to have been continued occaſionally. Only the Firſt Number of it, however, appeared. See the *Notes* in p. 426.

Woollen-

Woollen-manufacture cannot at preſent bear poſtage), ſhe ſhall have a fair and candid anſwer.

I write myſelf SPINSTER, becauſe the laws of my country call me ſo; and I think that name, uſed in all writings and inſtruments as the addition and diſtinction of a maiden or ſingle woman of this iſland, denotes to us, that the general expectation of our lawgivers was, that the induſtry of female manufacturers would be moſt laudably employed this way, and therefore they gave the office of the Spinner as a title to the Gentlewoman.

It might be further urged, that this word intimates that a woman's chief praiſe conſiſts in domeſtic induſtry, and in ſimplicity, rather than variety of dreſs.

In order to come at the true ſtate of trade, and the intereſt of this iſland, with relation to the habits now worn, I ſhall take the modern Engliſh lady at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, which is her break of day; and allowing her to twelve for private devotion, ſuppoſe ſhe has called to be dreſſed, and from the parcels of her dreſs, obſerving what ſhe wears of Engliſh, and what of foreign product, with the prices of each part of her habit, make my inferences accordingly.

None amongſt thoſe whom we call *people of condition* can be at home or abroad, viſit or receive viſits, without having ſeveral dreſſes, with

ſeveral

ſeveral ſuitable undreſſes, according to the following liſt, of abſolute neceſſaries for a fine lady. She has now nothing on but her ſlippers, and her maid in callico clothes with the productions of the whole earth as under-written.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
A ſmock of cambrick holland, about three ells and a half, at 12*s. per* ell	2	2	0
Marſeilles quilted petticoat, three yards wide and a yard long	3	6	0
An hoop-petticoat covered with tabby	2	15	0
A French or Italian ſilk quilted petticoat, one yard and a quarter deep, and ſix yards wide	10	0	0
A mantua and petticoat of French brocade, 26 yards, at three pounds *per* yard	78	0	0
A French point or Flanders laced head, ruffles and tucker	80	0	0
Stays covered with tabby, Engliſh	3	0	0
A French necklace	1	5	0
A Flanders laced handkerchief	10	0	0
French or Italian flowers for the hair	2	0	0
An Italian fan	5	0	0
Silk ſtockings, Engliſh	1	0	0
Shoes, Engliſh	2	10	0
A girdle, French	0	15	0
A cambrick pocket handkerchief	0	10	0

	l.	s.	d.
French kid gloves	0	2	6
A black French ſilk alamode hood	0	15	0
A black French laced hood	5	5	0
Imbroidered knot and boſom knot, French	2	2	0
Total	210	7	6

This is the neceſſary demand upon every gentleman, who would live in faſhion and in quiet, for one dreſs for his lady; and as it would be ſcandalous (as his wife, anxious for his reputation, according to her duty, admoniſhes him) for her to be known by her cloaths, ſhe cannot but have five ſuits at leaſt, and even with that ſhe muſt ſtay at home one day in the week; but ſhe is willing to do any thing for her children and family, and would not appear abroad every day, like that flaring buſybody her neighbour Mrs. Blank.

According to this rule, foreigners ſell this lady to the value of a thouſand pounds, where the Engliſh ſell her to the value of five; and I believe any company, or perſon, trade, or trader, on the Britiſh ſide of the channel, will find it hard to balance this loſs to our country by what they ſell of Engliſh cloathing to foreigners. I ſhall not therefore preſs the advantage further in

in the argument, ſo far as to mention that her garters are French, and coſt one pound five; that ſhe has a pair of pockets of Marſeilles quilting, which is another one pound five: nor need I obſerve that her ſtay-buckles, and buckles for her ſhoes, cannot be any other than brilliant, the price of which alters according to the price which others of our acquaintance, whom we love or envy, have purchaſed theirs. But I wonder I forgot that whatever part of the town the lady lives in, ſhe muſt have a muff of five pounds five ſhillings; and if ſhe lives in the city, ſhe will catch cold if ſhe has not a ſable tippet worth fifteen pounds.

I had like to have concluded without taking notice, that the lining of her gown and petticoat was Italian luteſtring, cheap at eight pounds; but on the Engliſh ſide of the account, which I forgot when about her legs, it muſt be added that ſhe had thread ſtockings worth ten ſhillings.

In an affair of this nature, wherein a great demand of things of ſmall price riſes to great profit, it muſt not be forgotten that the cap on which her head is dreſſed is foreign ſilk, and ſo is the lace that ties it, as well as the lace for the ſtays. But for our encouragement at home, we ſupply her with pins, patches, powder, and wire. Patches may perhaps make a fraction in the account, therefore it muſt be conſidered that

it is Engliſh labour upon Italian ſilk. I am dreſſing her for a viſit; and as ſhe is going out, ſhe calls for her Turkey handkerchief, for which ſhe gave five pounds five ſhillings; but ſhe is now ready to move, and has called for either her coach or her chair; but as the maid is going, ſhe bids her call both, leſt ſhe ſhould alter her mind before ſhe comes to the door, and then it is time enough to chuſe which of the vehicles ſhe pleaſes.

Whether we are taller this age than we were formerly, I cannot determine; but am divided in my conjectures whence it is that our women dreſs their heads lower, and the cielings of our rooms are raiſed higher than in former times; but be that as it will, the apartments through which I am to conduct this lady are hung with foreign ſilks, and the chairs covered with the ſame. But ſhe is come to the door, and takes her chair lined with velvet, as dear as the ſilk with which herſelf is cloathed, and bids her coach (the inſide of which is of velvet alſo, but of a colour leſs ſuitable to her complexion) put off.

This is the ſtate of the caſe, and it behoves all on the Callico ſide of this queſtion to make out as is above demanded of them, that they bring to England, by ſale of the product of theſe kingdoms, more than the luxury and

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charge in dreſs, deſcribed in the inſtance of one lady, reduces us to the neceſſity of ſupplying ourſelves with from other nations.

The Legiſlature, before which this queſtion now lies, will certainly conſider whether the manufacturers of Wool, which is as much a produce of the land as are corn and graſs, ſhall, inſtead of working thoſe fleeces, and gaining to themſelves a comfortable livelihod, and raiſing the rents of their landlord, become immoveable incumbrances upon that land, and live in the poors-rate, to the ruin of them both.

It is not proper to dictate to law-givers; but we may give them information. I have read in the *Lives of Plutarch*, that the wiſe *Lycurgus*, in order to maintain the Commonwealth in its ſimplicity, forbade the uſe of certain dreſſes to women; and to deter them from appearing in them, allowed them no remedy againſt abuſe of their perſons in thoſe habits.

As I am talking to the female world, whoſe apparel is the cauſe of this evil, and ſpeaking of *Lycurgus*, let me recommend the imitation of the *Spartan Dame*, now repreſented on the ſtage, where they will find the duty of a lady not reſtrained to domeſtic life, but enlarging the concern for her family into that of her country. When a woman of honour and underſtanding takes this matter ſeriouſly into her thoughts, ſhe

will conſider how far her fortune and perſon may influence or ſupport a faſhion, deſtructive to the ſociety of which ſhe is a member; ſhe will then, in juſtice as well as compaſſion, be fearful of putting on an ornament, which, if generally worn, may reſpectively expoſe, according to their ſex, crowds of her fellow-ſubjects to ſhame or death.

It is not to be imagined, nor perhaps deſired, that we ſhould return to the manners of the firſt ages of the world; but it is to be watchfully guarded that we admit of no refinements that may be prejudicial inſtead of being advantageous: an Engliſh Lady will therefore be ſuch, not only in her own perſon, but alſo in her children and ſervants. There needs no greater ſkill for coming at the truth of this debate, than what every ordinary miſtreſs of a family muſt be capable of. No one will make and provide at home what will hinder a family from doing what would purchaſe a great deal more than what would *buy the ſame thing* from abroad; and, on the contrary, no one will go abroad for what they can have for leſs coſt and labour at home. This is, perhaps, the main principle, which, obſerved or neglected, makes men rich or poor, a nation great or contemptible.

But I ſhall tranſgreſs the deſign and limits of this firſt diſcourſe, which I intended ſhould

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go no further than juſt alarming the innocent cauſes of this evil, the Ladies, againſt ruining their country; their great grandmothers, who for ornament and dreſs painted their own bodies, would be aſtoniſhed at the Callico Picts, their degenerate children, and fly from their own offspring, as putting themſelves in maſquerade only to reduce themſelves to their primitive poverty and nakedneſs. This is not at all ſaid to diſparage trade in general, but to make us more circumſpect in maintaining the balance of it on our own ſide: no, it is very far from that, and I very much admire that excellent eulogium in the ſixty-ninth SPECTATOR, firſt volume. That judicious, delightful, and memorable writer, after having celebrated, with greateſt variety of eloquence, wit, and humour, our happineſs as a trading people, has it thus: "There are not, ſays he, more uſeful members "in a Commonwealth than Merchants. They "knit mankind together in a mutual intercourſe "of good offices, diſtribute the gifts of Nature, "find work for the poor, and wealth to the "rich, and magnificence to the great. Our "Engliſh merchant converts the tin of his own "country into gold, and exchanges his wool for "rubies. The Mahometans are cloathed in "our Britiſh manufacture, and the inhabitants

" of the Frozen Zone warmed with the fleeces of " our ſheep.

" When I have been upon the *Change*, I have " often fancied one of our old Kings ſtanding in " perſon, where he is repreſented in effigy, and " looking down upon the wealthy concourſe of " people with which the place is every day " filled. In this eaſe, how would he be ſur- " prized to hear all the languages of Europe " ſpoken in this little ſpot of his former do- " minions, and to ſee ſo many private men, who " in his time would have been the *Vaſſals of* " *ſome powerful Baron*, negotiating like Princes " for greater ſums of money than were formerly " to be met with in the Royal Treaſury! Trade, " without enlarging the Britiſh territories, has " given us a kind of additional empire: it has " multiplied the number of the rich, made our " landed eſtates infinitely more valuable than " they were formerly, and added to them an " acceſſion of other eſtates as valuable as the " lands themſelves."

If it ſhould appear that there are particular collections or bodies of merchants, or particular over-grown traders, who act and deal with a direct contrary view to that of this general proſperity of trade; I will at preſent ſay no more of them, but that they have no pretenſion to any part of this panegyrick. Upon the whole, we

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are undone, if, in the preſent poſture of the world, ſomething is not *reſolved* for the improvement and immediate preſervation of our trade*; for, as it now ſtands, I think it may be comprehended in what one Indian boy, talking to another one day as they waited for their maſters at

* The occaſion which produced this Eſſay had for ſome time before raiſed various clamours in the public papers.

The firſt regular pamphlet that we find appeared October 23, 1719, under the Title of "The Weaver's true Caſe; or the wearing of printed "Callicoes and Linen deſtructive to the Woollen and Silk Manufac-"tories; wherein all the material objections againſt the Weavers are "fairly ſtated, conſidered, and anſwered. Addreſſed to the Members "of the honourable Houſe of Commons. By a Weaver." Sold by J. Roberts, price 6d.

This was followed, October 30, by a periodical Paper, intituled, "The MANUFACTURER, or Britiſh Trade truly ſtated; wherein the "Caſe of the Weavers, and the wearing of Callicoes, are conſidered; to "be continued every Wedneſday and Friday, printed for W. Boreham." This ſoon produced, November 10, "THE BRITISH MERCHANT; or "a Review of the Trade of Great Britain, ſo far as it is falſely ſtated by "the MANUFACTURER; proving that the Author ought to have ranked "the Heads of his Three firſt Papers under the word CLAMOUR, and not "ARGUMENT. To be continued every Tueſday. Printed for J. Roberts." Which was again followed, November 23, by "The WEAVER; or, the "State of our Home Manufacture conſidered. To be continued weekly. "Printed for S. Nevill."

"The Weavers Complaint againſt the Callicoe Madams, as ſung at "the Playhouſe in Lincoln's Inn Fields," is a Song of great humour, and may be ſeen at length in the Weekly Journal, November 7, 1719.

"The juſt Complaint of the poor Weavers truly repreſented, with as "much Anſwer as it deſerves to a Pamphlet lately written againſt them, "intituled, The Weavers Pretences examined, &c. price 6d." was advertiſed in the Manufacturer, December 2, 1719.

"The Female Manufacturers Complaint, &c." (ſee p. 429.) appeared early in January, 1719-20.

"Next Thurſday will be publiſhed, Mr. Aſgill's Anſwer to the "Queſtions upon the Callicoes. The ſecond Edition, with an Appendix "upon the SPINSTER. Price 6d." Poſt-boy, January 12, 1719-20.

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the great houſe in Leadenhall-ſtreet, ſaid to his comrade. The poor Indian, governing himſelf by outward appearances, and what he obſerved wherever he went, was overheard to ſay, "I "cannot ſee, Pompey, in what the people of "this country excell thoſe of ours, except it be "that they are governed by their wives; they "go to our country to bring home to their "women fine dreſſes from head to foot, only to "purchaſe of them their hair for periwigs."

*** "In a ſhort time will be publiſhed, A Miſcellany of Original "Poems, by a Gentleman. If any perſon is willing to inſert any Poetical "Pieces in this Collection, they are deſired to ſend them, between this "and the 25th of March, to John Bateman, Bookſeller, in St. Paul's "Church-yard, paying poſtage." Weekly Journal, Jan. 16, 1719-20.

†††† "To be let, within twenty miles of London, on an extraordi-"nary good road, where the COACHES COME AND GO IN ONE DAY, a "ſpacious large Houſe, with almoſt eighteen acres of incloſed ground "lying next to it, at about 30l. *per annum*, with very good ſtabling, "coach-houſe, convenient out-houſes, and kitchen and flower-gardens; "and twenty acres more of incloſed ground, if required." Ibid.

"Nottingham, Derby, Loughborough, and Leiceſter Stage Coaches, "continue ſtill to go in THREE DAYS, from the Ram Inn in Smithfield, "every Monday and Thurſday." Poſtman, Nov. 21, 1719.

The Nottingham Mail Coach paſſes now (1789) in about 17 Hours.

"To be ſold by HENRY PLAISTOW, at the King's Arms, the corner of Arundel-ſtreet, in the Strand, a new ſort of Beavers and Cloth Hats of nice ſnuff-colours, for gentlemen, proper for the winter, for riding or hunting, which will keep out the wet, and hold their colour better than black, having a noble, genteel look, trimmed with ſilver or gold. At the ſame ſhop is the greateſt choice of all ſorts of hats for ladies and gentlemen, with feathers of all colours, at reaſonable rates. Where are ſold alſo the following neat Wines for ready money, viz. Red and white Port, at 13l. 10s. the hogſhead, Methuen wine, Barrs-bar, Sherry, Young Hock, and Rheniſh, at 6s. per gallon, Palm Sack, at 7s. fine mellow Old Hock, at 10s. per gallon. Deep Margoes Claret, at 24s. per dozen. Pontack, at 2s. 6d. per bottle, Hermitage and Burgundy, at 3s. per bottle. Right Coniac Brandy, at 9s. per gallon. Attendance will be conſtantly given: Where are clean bottles and caſks of all ſizes." St. James's Poſt, January 15, 1719-20.

THE

THE

FEMALE MANUFACTURERS

COMPLAINT:

BEING

The Humble Petition of DOROTHY DISTAFF, ABIGAIL SPINNING-WHEEL, ELEANOR REEL, &c. Spinſters,

TO

THE LADY REBECCA WOOLPACK.

With a reſpectful Epiſtle to Sir RICHARD STEELE, concerning ſome Omiſſions of the utmoſt Importance in his Lady's Wardrobe.

By Monſieur DE BROCADE, of Paris *.

* Firſt publiſhed in 8vo, in January 1719-20, by W. Boreham, Price 3d.

To the Honourable and moſt Excellent Matron,
Mrs. Rebecca Woollpack.

The Humble Repreſentation and Petition of Dorothy Diſtaff, Abigail Spinning-Wheel, Eleanor Reel, of St. Edmundsbury, in the County of Suffolk, Spinſters; in behalf of themſelves and many thouſands of the Female Manufacturers of Wool and Worſted Yarn in the ſaid County, and in the Counties of Norfolk, Eſſex, Huntington, Cambridge, Hertford, &c.

Humbly ſheweth,

THAT your Petitioners have for many years been chearfully employed in the Woollen Manufactures of England, that is to ſay, in the ſpinning of worſted yarn for the Stuff Weavers of Norwich and of London, by which we have very comfortably maintained and ſupported ourſelves in ſuch manner, as that we have upon all occaſions appeared decently at Church; that is to ſay, with a clean pinner, a cherry-coloured chin-knot, a white apron, and a clean pair of gloves, ſo that our Sweethearts have not been aſhamed of us; nay, ſome of us, who have ſet to our work harder than ordinary, have obtained, by long labour and good houſewifery, a narrow Buckinghamſhire edging to our pin-

ners, to the great improvement of our neighbour-laſſes of that county, and the encouragement of the manufacture of Bone-lace alſo.

We alſo farther humbly repreſent, that in ſome parts of the county where our fellow-ſpinners are poorer, and have not fathers and mothers to work for them, as we, who are good farmers and huſbandmens daughters, may be ſuppoſed to have; but where, on the contrary, the money earned by the labour of the poor women and children is employed for their daily ſubſiſtence; yet that even there, may it pleaſe your Ladyſhip, the induſtrious poor women have, by the help of the ſpinning of worſted yarn as aforeſaid, maintained their ſaid families, and kept themſelves and their ſaid children from miſery, and from being chargeable to the pariſh, though with very hard work and the utmoſt induſtry and application.

But now, and it pleaſe your Ladyſhip, there is ſad and dreadful news come among us, as well from Norwich as from London, where our maſters who employ us ſell their yarn, and from whence they always, till now, had encouragement to ſet us to work, as alſo from all other parts of the country, ſignifying to us, that all the Ladies of London, the honourable and right honourable Spinſters of Cheapſide and all over England, and even your Ladyſhip among the

the reſt, have on a ſudden, and to our great ſurprize and amazement, given over the uſe and wearing of the good honeſt old Engliſh manufactures of wool and worſted, and of ſilk mixed with wool, things in which we always believed here in the country that we looked as pretty, and appeared as tempting and agreeable to our Lovers and Sweethearts, as in any thing we can get to wear, and in which we have been told the City Spinſters have been as high and as proud as ever they can or will be in any thing elſe.

And this is not all; but, and it pleaſe your Ladyſhip, our ſaid Maſters tell us the heavy tidings, that upon this humour of the Ladies, many woollen ſtuffs, and ſtuffs mixed with ſilk, and even ſilks themſelves, are in a very great meaſure laid aſide; that ſome of them are quite loſt, and thrown out of ſale, ſuch as brilliants and pulerays, antherines and bombazines, ſattinets and chiverets, oraguella's, grazetts, great variety of ſilk and worſted foot-works, flowered grazetts, flowered ſilk and worſted tammy draughts, and damaſks, fine coloured crapes, *&c.* and that they cannot ſell their worſted yarn as uſual at Norwich and London; neither have they any more work for us to do, any wool to put out, or money to pay for the ſpinning, the market being ſtopped as aforeſaid.

May it pleaſe your Ladyſhip then to conſider what a ſad and deplorable condition we are now reduced to in the country; for as to us your petitioners, though we are, as above, farmers and huſbandmens daughters, and our parents do make ſhift to give us victuals and drink, yet that we are utterly ruined; for we can now get no new cloaths, no knots, no edgings, as we obſerved to your Ladyſhip, and without which, your Ladyſhip well knows, we ſhall get no ſweet-hearts, for we cannot go to the market nor to the fair, as uſual; and your Ladyſhip knows what will be the miſerable conſequences of theſe things, for that the young men do not come after us now to our fathers houſes, as they uſed to do, but always expect to ſee us at market-towns; ſo that if ſome ſpeedy courſe be not taken in this matter, we are in danger of being utterly undone.

And as for the poor women and children in the county, as above, whoſe employment and whole ſubſiſtence depends upon the manufactures, and who muſt ſpin, or they and their families muſt ſtarve; it were impoſſible, could your Ladyſhip hear the ſad lamentations of thoſe miſerable familes, but your heart would bleed for them, and you would never wear any thing that would contribute ſo much to the diſtreſs of the poor.

But

But, beſides this, we humbly crave leave to lay before your Ladyſhip, that, as we are informed, all this ſudden change, which is apparently to the ruin of ſo many thouſands of your petitioners, is brought about in favour of a tawdry, pie-ſpotted, flabby, ragged, low-priced thing, called CALLICOE; a foreigner by birth; made, the Lord knows where, by a parcel of Heathens and Pagans, that worſhip the Devil, and work for a half-penny a day.

We likewiſe humbly repreſent to your Ladyſhip, that all this miſery and diſtreſs, which is and will be the conſequence of the Ladies falling with ſuch a guſt into this new outlandiſh faſhion, is laid wholly at the door of your own fancies; that you have not been prompted to it by your husbands, or invited into it by your ſweet-hearts or lovers; for the men, it ſeems, do not wear any of it themſelves, nor do they find that you ſave them any money in their pockets by it, as we ſhall fully prove to you afterwards. We ſay, it is all laid at your door; and we are given to underſtand, that while the men in vain have repreſented to your Ladyſhip, that it will be ruinous and deſtructive to the trade of the nation, and to the woollen manufactures, and deſired you, though to no purpoſe, to be perſuaded to lay it aſide, you are all the more obſtinate in the uſe of it; ſo that they are now

obliged to lay it before the Parliament, in order to *force* you to alter the mode, and to dreſs in the good, honeſt, home-ſpun Manufactures of England; which, by the way, will be not only much againſt the grain, as to the faſhion itſelf, but will alſo be much to your diſhonour, that you ſhould be ſo commanded by the men to lay it down, and be brought to do it by FORCE.

We moſt earneſtly entreat your Ladyſhip, therefore, to conſider what great reproach you are going to bring upon yourſelf, and us all, and what injury even your children and grand-children of our ſex muſt ſuſtain by thus bringing us all under a ſort of ſubjection to the men, in the modes of our dreſs; "a yoke," from husbands, "which neither we nor our mothers "have ever been able to bear." It ought, doubtleſs, to be above the dignity of our ſex to be thus brought under this bondage; and, therefore, we moſt humbly beſeech you to let this change be the work of your own choice; and not ſuffer it to be impoſed upon you by the men, who will certainly, if they carry this point, take upon them for the future to bring in ſumptuary laws upon us, and oblige us to wear ſuch cloaths as they think fit; or otherwiſe, which would be intolerable (and which we hope you would make an inſurrection rather than ſubmit to), oblige the

the Ladies to wear no cloaths any richer than their husbands can pay for.

But, beſides all this, we deſire your Ladyſhip, in the humbleſt manner poſſible, to take the condition of our poor ſex into your moſt ſerious conſideration. We moſt paſſionately repreſent to your Ladyſhip how much you are really intereſted in this affair; how the Worſhipful your Ladyſhip's Grandfather was a WOOLPACK, the good old Squire raiſed all his fortunes by us Spinners, and many a comely country Laſs has manufactured for him. Old Sir HARRY WOOLCOMBE, of Bury St. Edmonds, was alſo near of kin to you, Madam, and he got a great eſtate from the Comb-pot, and made all his daughters ladies and gentle-folks. Beſides, your Ladyſhip is allied, by ſome removes, to a great many right honourable perſons, the direct off-ſpring of the moſt ancient families in Suffolk and Norfolk, ſuch as the families of the OUMPLERS, the STAPLERS, and the ancient TRESSEL-BEATERS, and others. Lord, Madam, can you forget the graves of your anceſtors, and the grey hairs of your fore-fathers? if they ſhould riſe from the dead now, and ſee you dreſſed up in your painted trangums, and Eaſt India rags, while all the poor Spinners hung about you crying for bread and for work; good your Ladyſhip, what think you my good maſters would

ſay to it? would they not carry you away a pick-a-pack?

Beſides, may it pleaſe your good Ladyſhip to conſider, that if the honour of your family is not ſupported and maintained, which, by the way, can never be done, if a ſtop is not put to the wearing theſe Callicoe trumpery, you can never maintain or ſupport your character; for, we beſeech your Ladyſhip, if the Wool comes to lie on hand, and not be ſpun and worked up, what will all the family of the WOOL-PACKS come to? they will certainly be laid by till they rot, and come to rags. We have often ſeen, Madam, ſome of the largeſt and moſt flouriſhing of you WOOL-PACKS, when the market has been dull, and the Wool would not go off, ſuffer great loſs, and be reduced to a very tattered condition.

Nay, let me recommend it to your conſideration, that if this goes on, the beſt of your expectations, and of thoſe other ladies of your family, may be to be ſent over to France; and there, if nothing worſe ſhould happen to you, yet you muſt change your religion, and you would all become Popiſh WOOL-PACKS, whether you would or no.

And as for us poor Spinſters, we muſt certainly go away to France alſo. Nay there is a particular reaſon for that, which we have

not

not mentioned yet; and that is, that here is abundance of the young men, ſuch as we uſed to pitch upon for our beſt thoughts, and who, when they had work, were pretty clean fellows, and went well dreſſed a Sundays, who were Manufacturers, and lived very well, have been forced ſince to go down to the ſea-ſide; and there, they tell us, are French folks and Dutch folks, at Ipſwich and other places, that give them money to go abroad, and ſo we never ſee them more: and aſſure yourſelf, and it pleaſe your Ladyſhip, that if all our Sweet-hearts run away, we will all go after them, and then you may e'en ſpin your Wool-packs yourſelf.

But we hope your Ladyſhip will be prevailed upon by the tears of your own ſex, and by the miſeries of the poor, which you cannot be inſenſible of, to commiſerate the poor country, and ſet your helping hand to a work ſo neceſſary to be done, and (which is more than all the reſt) is ſo eaſy for you to do.

Which brings us to the main ſubject of this your petitioners humble repreſentation, namely, That your Ladyſhip would conſider how much it is in your power, at one turn of your hand, to put an end to all theſe miſeries of your country, and to wipe up the tears of all the poor families in the nation, by only vouchſafing to ſubmit your fancy to your reaſon, and by bring-

ing your humour and your judgement to correſpond a little together.

Let us ſuppoſe for once, that your fancy, at leaſt for the preſent, according to the laudable cuſtom of our ſex, does now run for the gewgaws of the Eaſt Indies, as ſometimes it has done in former days for thoſe of France. But, ſure, when you are convinced that this uſage of yours tends to the entire deſtruction of the Manufactures of your country, that it will of courſe turn thouſands of poor women and children into the ſtreets a-begging, and to the pariſhes for ſupport; that the trade ſhall be univerſally influenced by it, and that a great many deviliſh, thieving, running, cheating trades, are brought in among us by it, to the ruin of the fair trader; we ſay, when your Ladyſhip is convinced of this, we are perſuaded you will throw your fine Chints Gown and Petticoat in the fire, and declare that you will never more wear any thing ſo prejudicial to the Britiſh manufacture, or ſo dangerous to the worſhipful Family of the WOOL-PACKS.

Permit us, and't pleaſe your Ladyſhip, in the next place, humbly to repreſent to your conſideration, how abſolutely it is reſerved in your own power, and in your own hands, to effect this; and to all intents and purpoſes to reſcue all the poor Manufacturers in the nation

from

from the bondage and miſery they are now fallen into.

As the evil is laid at your door, ſo the remedy is in your hands; for, if you are the cauſe, you may certainly be the cure. May Heaven dictate ſo you, how, being the original ſpring of all our misfortunes, you are under an effectual obligation to endeavour the redreſſing this grievance!

As the general wearing of Callicoes is the complaint, the general leaving them off will be the cure. The faſhion is the grievance, becauſe it is a faſhion; it is in the Ladies power at once to make it odious and abhorred all over the kingdom. You are able to make it as much out of faſhion, as you brought it into faſhion at once. You gave it your ſanction, by approving and eſpouſing it; and you can ſink it again by the blaſt of your mouths.

Take the honour of it, Madam, from the men; give them nothing to boaſt of for reforming their wives; but make their wives triumph over them, by telling them, that you, whenever you pleaſe, can diſtreſs them; and again, whenever you pleaſe, remove their grievance.

The men can make no ſuch alteration, they cannot decry or oblige us to the diſuſe of any thing; but if you turn your eyes this or that way, you can raiſe or ſuppreſs what you pleaſe to the public benefit of the nation.

To what purpoſe ſhould we trouble our repreſentatives with our complaints? Eaſe us, Madam, yourſelves of the trouble. If the women in England will but ſet their hands to this work, not a Callicoe, not a piece of linen printed or ſtained, ſhall be ſold or worn in England. Then all our petitions will be at an end, they that bid the people petition will bid them be eaſy; all the Manufactures of Great Britain ſhall revive, and the women will have the glory of having ſaved the Nation.

We moſt humbly put your Ladyſhip in mind how the men inſult us upon this head; how they inſolently tell us, that though the women may ſometimes do more good than hurt, they never had the opportunity of doing more hurt than good but they were ſure to take hold of it.

And thus they conclude, that our deliverance, to uſe their own words, is out of ſight, becauſe it is in the hands of the women, who always did hurt rather than good.

Contradict them, we beſeech your Ladyſhip, in this article, and let the whole country be ſaved by your hand. All the petitions then from the ſeveral parts of the kingdom ſhall be removed; and we, the poor country manufacturers and ſpinners, will pay our homage to you Ladies of London; and the honour of deliver-

ing

ing the whole family of the Spinners ſhall be your own.

" In order to this, the prayer of our Petition " concludes to your Ladyſhip, That you " would be pleaſed to take the ſad and " deplorable condition of your poor peti- " tioners into your conſideration; and, in a " word, that you and all the Ladies of your " family, the renowned family of the WOOL- " PACKS, with all your family and ſervants, " may, by your order, lay aſide your Cal- " licoe gowns and petticoats of all ſorts, and " declare publicly that none of you will any " more be dreſſed in them, whether we call " dreſſing the ſet dreſs for abroad, or the " diſhabille for the morning; but that you " would reaſſume thoſe many pretty ſtuffs " which are already invented by our weavers, " or which may be invented to pleaſe the " fancy, in the room of the Callicoes. And " your petitioners, leaving all other appli- " cation, ſhall for ever pray for all happineſs " to the noble family of the WOOL-PACKS.

" DOROTHY DISTAFF.

" The Mark ⋈ of ABIGAIL SPINNING WHEEL.

" ELEANOR REEL."

A Re-

A

Reſpectful EPISTLE

TO

SIR RICHARD STEELE,

AUTHOR OF THE SPINSTER.

AFTER acknowledging, Sir, your very good meaning in your late performance for the encouragement of the good wives in their compleat way of dreſſing; it ſeems very ſtrange, that you, who are ſo exquiſitely read in the literature of the Toilette, that could rate the very ſmocks of the ladies, and tell as well how much they coſt a yard, as how many yards of holland there are in them; I ſay, that you ſhould omit ſome articles in the Lady's wardrobe, that are ſo neceſſary to compleat the various appearances of a fine Lady: and particularly,

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
A hat of Leghorn — — —	1	10	0
A beaver and feather for the foreſt	3	0	0
A riding ſuit, with embroidery of Paris — — —	47	10	0
Three dreſſes for the maſquerade; two from Venice, 18*l.* each	36	0	0

One

	l.	s.	d.
One from Paris, of green velvet à la Sultaneſſe, ſet with pearls and rubies	123	15	0
	211	15	0

After, Sir, you had gone this length, you ought to have converſed with TOM DRAWBOY, the Mercer upon Ludgate-hill, who would for two bottles have confeſſed that they (Mercers) have about twelve or fifteen Maſter-weavers at this time in work in Spittle-fields, and all kept in full buſineſs, making French brocaded ſilks for the Ladies; that is to ſay, for thoſe nice Ladies of quality who do not take up with any thing but what is right French.

It muſt be confeſſed that this is a very great help to the Weavers at this the time of their unhappy circumſtances; and therefore thoſe Ladies are exceeding kind, and great ſupporters of the ſilk manufactures of Great Britain, who are pleaſed thus far to ſhut their eyes upon ſo extraordinary an occaſion, and be put off with Spittle-fields inſtead of the Fauxbourgs of Paris. And as they have no wrong done them, the goods made in Spittle-fields being not only as good, but every way ſuperior to thoſe made in Paris, it is hoped they will not think them leſs French for being made in their own country.

There

There are ſome other trifles, Sir, you had forgot alſo, which I ſhall not now enumerate; as ſome eſſences, pomatums, eſpecially that of *the grand occaſion*, and ſuch like toys, which muſt not be reckoned to coſt the Lady leſs than 150l. a year; but of theſe hereafter.

I moſt humbly beg your Worſhip's pardon for theſe hints; not doubting but you will make a good uſe of them as they occur in your next SPINSTER *. I am, Sir,

Your moſt obedient Servant,

Spitter de Fel, Jan. 2, 1719-20. TISSERANDO DE BROCADE.

* No other number of the SPINSTER has occurred to our researches.

TO

TO

THE AUTHOR OF THE LOVER *.

SIR,

THAT all your Readers may have a right notion of the *uſe* and *abuſe* of Love, as founded upon the unerring laws of nature, I here communicate the diſcuſſion of two caſes of conſcience, as reſolved by our learned countryman Dr. GILBERT BURNET, 1680; and they are freely at your ſervice. Yours,

Glaſgow,
Nov. 20, 1714.

JOHN MITCHELL.

* The general title of the publication from which this article is taken is as follows: "Memoirs towards a Hiſtory of Men eminent in the Republic of Letters, as well foreign as domeſtic." (See p. 315.)

Of how many half-crown numbers this work conſiſted we are not certain, nor that there ever was any more of it printed than the part from which we are now extracting. That part has the following ſeparate title:

"Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Sir Richard Steele. Wherein are contained, Two curious Diſſertations, written by the late Biſhop Burnet, viz.

"I. A Defence of Polygamy, proving, that it is not contrary to the Law and Nature of Marriage; and that an expreſs prohibition of it is no where to be found in Scripture.

"II. [The Lawfulneſs of Divorce on account of Sterility in Women, proving that Defect a ſufficient reaſon for Separation.] Alſo ſome Memoirs of the Earls of Nottingham, Portmore, and Lord Chief Baron Pengelly, with his WILL. London, Printed for E. Curll and W. Leventhorp, at Congreve's Head, directly over-againſt Catherine-ſtreet, in the Strand, 1731, Price 2s. 6d."

This

This copy is taken from the original, atteſted by Dr. PATTERSON, Archbiſhop of GLASGOW, now in Poſſeſſion of the Honourable ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL, where it may be ſeen if there is occaſion.

The Archbiſhop of Glaſgow's *atteſtation under his hand and epiſcopal ſeal manual.* Edinborough, *the 5th of* January, 1703.

The Reſolutions of theſe two caſes, viz.

[I. *Is* POLYGAMY *in any caſe lawful under the* Goſpel?

II. *Is a Woman's* Barrenneſs *a juſt ground for* DIVORCE *or* POLYGAMY?] is a true copy of what I ſaw, read, and copied, from the original Manuſcript, written with Dr. GILBERT BURNET's own hand; and which I copied over at HAM *, in the year 1680, the original being then in the poſſeſſion of the Duke of LAUDERDALE, by whoſe allowance and conſent I took a copy of it. This I do hereby ſolemnly atteſt; as witneſs my hand and ſeal, day, year, and place, above written.

J. GLASGOW. (*L. S.*)

* In Surrey, where the Duke of a a fine ſeat.

CASE

CASE. I.

" *Is* POLYGAMY *in any Caſe lawful under the*
" Goſpel?

RESOLVED.

" For anſwer, it is to be *conſidered*, that *Marriage* is a *Contract* founded upon the *Laws* of *Nature*, its *End* being the *Propagation of Mankind*; and the Formality of doing it by Churchmen, is only a ſupervenient Benediction, or pompous ſolemnizing of it; and therefore the *Nature* of *Marriage*, and not any *Forms* uſed in the *Celebration* of it, is to be *conſidered*. It is true, the caſe is harder when any is married by ſuch a *Form* as binds him to ONE *Woman*, than where he is bound only by the *Tie* of *Marriage* conceived in *general Terms*.

" The caſe of mankind, ſince the Fall, varies very much from what it was in Innocency; for then the *Soundneſs* of their *Bodies*, and the *Purity* of their *Minds*, did keep out of the way all the hazards of barrenneſs, ſickneſs, uncleanneſs, or croſſneſs of humour; and therefore a ſingle Marriage, as being the perfecteſt coalition of friendſhip and intereſt, was proper to that ſtate; and ſo *God* made but *one* Woman for *one* Man: but upon the Fall, the caſe varied hugely, and frigidity, barrenneſs, unchaſtity, croſſneſs of

humours, made the former law not ſo proper for the following race of mankind; yet ſtill a ſingle marriage was the perfecter, as being nearer the original.

"Before the Flood, we find Lamech a POLYGAMIST; ſuch were Abraham and Jacob after it: ſo that this was not indulged by Moſes; for all that he did relating to this, was only to allow of DIVORCE, which was a Proviſo from the hardneſs of the Iſraelites hearts. Every man was bound to maintain whom he had *once* married; leſt therefore ſuch as deſigned *another* wife, and could not maintain the *former*, might uſe *indirect* ways to be rid of them; this *Fair One* of *Divorce* was allowed of by *God*; and this *Polygamy* was practiſed, without either allowance or controul, as the natural right of mankind; neither is it any where marked among the Blemiſhes of the Patriarchs; David's Wives (and ſtore of them he had) are termed by the Prophet, *God's gift to him:* Yea *Polygamy* was made, in ſome caſes, a Duty by Moſes's Law; when any died without iſſue, his Brother, or neareſt Kinſman, was to marry his wife, for *raiſing up ſeed* to him; and all were obliged to *obey* this under the Hazard of Infamy if they refuſed it; neither is there any exception made for ſuch as were *Married*; from whence I may faithfully conclude, that what God made neceſſary in ſome

caſes

caſes to any degree, can in no caſe be ſinful in itſelf; ſince God is holy in all his ways: And thus far it appears, that POLYGAMY is not contrary to the *Law* and *Nature of Marriage*. But it is next to be examined, if it is *forbidden* under the *Goſpel*. It is certain our Lord deſigned to raiſe mankind to the higheſt degrees of *Purity* and *Chaſtity*; and therefore our Lord and St. Paul do prefer a *Single Life* to a *Married State*, as that which qualifies us for the Kingdom of Heaven, and was loaded with the feweſt incumbrances; and by this rule, a *Single Marriage* being next to none at all, is certainly moſt ſuitable to the *Goſpel*; but a ſimple and expreſs diſcharge of POLYGAMY is no where to be found. It is true, our Lord diſcharges *Divorces*, except in the caſe of *Adultery*; adding that whoſoever puts away his wife upon any other account, commits *Adultery*; ſo St. Luke and St. Matthew in one place have it: or *commits Adultery againſt her*; ſo St. Mark has it: or *cauſes her to commit Adultery*; ſo St. Matthew in another place. If it be then *Adultery* to take *another* woman after an *unjuſt Divorce*, it will follow, that the *Wife* has that Right to the *Huſband's* body, that he muſt touch no *other*. This is indeed plauſible; and is all that can be brought from the New Teſtement, which ſeems convincing; yet it will not be found of weight:

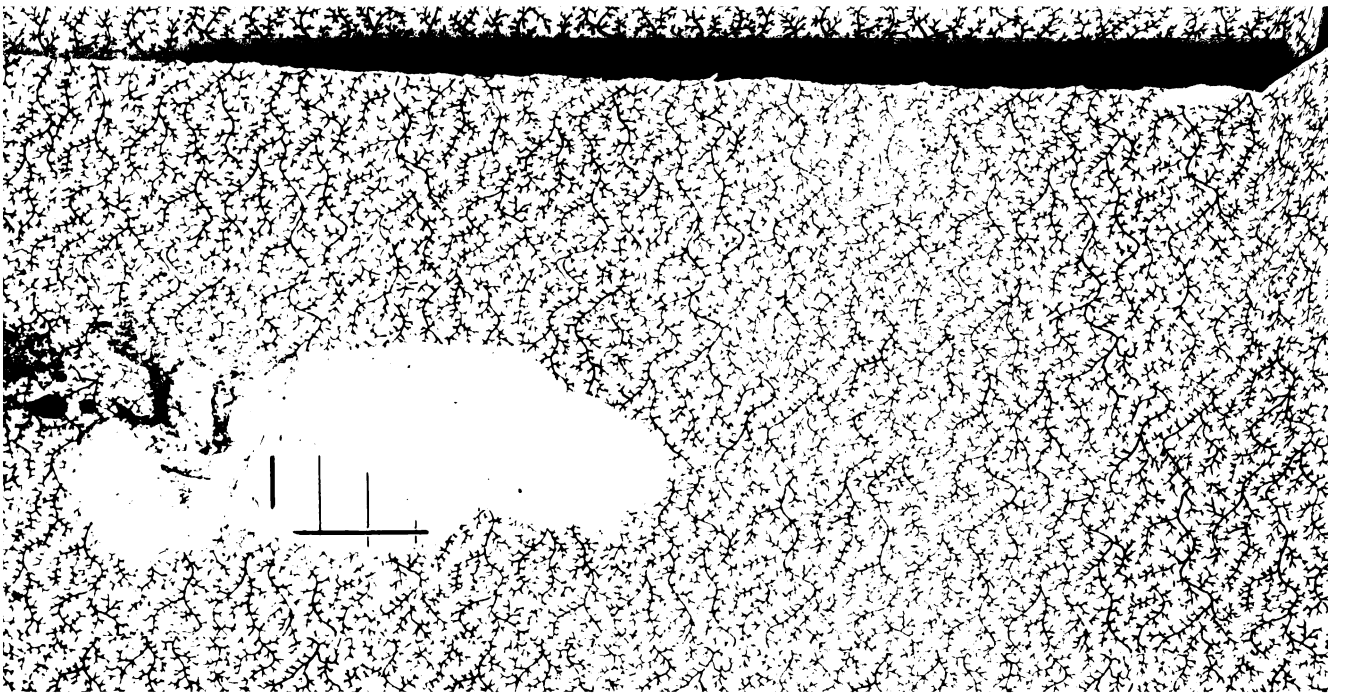
For it is to be conſidered, that if our Lord had been to antiquate POLYGAMY, it being ſo deeply rooted in the men of that age, confirmed by ſuch famous and unqueſtioned precedents, and riveted by ſo long a practice, he muſt have done it plainly and authoritatively; and not in ſuch an involved manner, that it muſt be ſought out of his words by the ſearch of Logic; neither are theſe dark words made more clear by any of the Apoſtles in their writings. Words are to be carried no farther than the deſign upon which they were written will lead them to; ſo that our Lord being in that place to ſtrike out Divorces ſo explicitly, we muſt not, by a conſequence, condemn POLYGAMY, ſince it ſeems not to have fallen within the ſcope of what our Lord does there diſapprove. Beſides, the term *Adultery* may be taken in general for ſuch a breach of wedlock as is equivalent to *Adultery*; and ſuch is an *unjuſt Divorce*. This may be the Import of the phraſe uſed by St. Mark, *viz. He committeth Adultery againſt her*; or all may be better explained by the phraſe St. Matthew uſes about it in one place, *He cauſes her to commit Adultery*. Since he that expoſeth and tempteth to ſin ſhares in the guilt with the perſon that ſuccumbs: And from this it appears, that POLYGAMY is not declared *Adultery*, neither in the place cited, nor in any other that I know

know of. But it is true, that POLYGAMY falls ſhort of the intendment of *Marriage* in Innocency, to which ſtate we that are under the Goſpel muſt return as near as it is poſſible. It is to be confeſſed, that POLYGAMY was much condemned by the Antients: Though I think I have met with ſomething about it that is little noticed; but of *that*, I can adventure to ſay nothing at this diſtance from my books and papers. But all that being granted, it is to be conſidered, that the Ancients were unjuſt and ſevere againſt *Marriage*, and did exceſſively favour the Celibate or *Single*; ſo that in ſome places, they who *Married the ſecond Time* were put to do *Penance* for it: And indeed, both *Jew* and *Gentile* had run into ſuch exceſs, by their free commixtures, that it is no wonder if the Holy men of theſe ages, being provoked to a *juſt* Zeal againſt ſuch *unjuſt* Practices, muſt have been carried through immoderate ſwaying of the counterpoiſe into ſome extremes on the other hand: Therefore, to conclude this ſhort anſwer, wherein many things are hinted which might have been enlarged to a volume, I ſee nothing ſo ſtrong *againſt* POLYGAMY, as to balance the great and viſible imminent hazards that hang over ſo many thouſands, if it be not *allowed*."

As to the *Solution* of the ſecond caſe of Conſcience, " *viz.* " *Of the Lawfulneſs of Divorce on*

" *account of Barrenneſs,*" there are ſome expreſſions ſo plainly uttered, as would offend the Fair Sex; for which reaſon we ſhall omit the recital of them in this place, and only obſerve with a late Hiſtorian that theſe arguments ſeem to forward a deſign which Dr. Burnet tells us was ſet on foot, to divorce K. *Charles* II. from Q. *Catherine* *.

* See Higgins's Remarks on Burnet's Hiſtory, p. 158, 159.

P. 446. *Note*, r. " Duke of Lauderdale had a ſeat."

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